
Accompaniment " A "

(Translation of an Urdu leaflet.).

With the name of God, the Merciful and the Compassionate.

Istadua (Request).

The *Pesh Imams* of all the mosques are requested that at the time when with every *Jamait* (congregation) they pray to God for the maintenance of the power of the Sultan of Turkey they should also mention his revered name with the *Khutba*. If they have *Khutbas* 20 or 25 years old. they should write on it " *Amir-ul-Momanin. Khilafat-ul-Mussalmin. Sultan-ul-Moazzam. Mohammad Wahid Uddin Khan Sadis Khudid Allah Malakhu wa Saltanatho.*" because it has been seen that the ordinary ignorant people do not even know the name of the king of Turkey. Under these circumstances how can they sympathise with Turks ? This body of the public has always been in the hands of the religious leaders. Therefore, it behoves you to again revive those Islamic orders which have been abandoned through our negligence or any other cause and infuse a new spirit into the Muhammadans, the honour of whose Khalifa the infidels are today bent upon destroying, so that they may awaken from their sleep, may regain their old lost greatness and show the enemies of the faith what the religion of Islam really is.

From—

Anjuman Khuddam-ul-Musalmin.

Cawnpore.

Accompaniment "C".

A test of the faith of Mussalmans and their devotedness to Islam.

An appeal by the Central Khilafat Committee.

The month of *Ramzan-ul-Mubarak* is the month for offerings. It is the duty of every true Mussalman to take the simplest food and" having saved money by curtailing expenditure spend it in the way of God during this month.

At this time a dark cloud is hanging over the Islamic world. The enemies of Islam have left no stone unturned to annihilate and destroy Islam. At such critical time it is duty of every true and faithful Musal-man to live most simply during this sacred month of Ramzan, to spend as little as possible for *sohri* (food taken before daybreak) and after (food taken to break the fast), save as much as they can from their household expenses, and credit the amount thus saved to the Khilafat Fund.

All the Mussalmans, and especially all the believing women and children, are therefore requested not to spend after delicious and expensive food. They should give a proof of their devotedness to Islam by saving whatever they can by taking simple food and credit the amount thus saved to the Khilafat Fund and for the safety of the Holy Places. Collections should be made simultaneously in every part of India from *Jumat-ul-Wida*, the 18th June, to the 5th July. On the day of the Id also this duty should not be overlooked. The Mussalman children should willingly sacrifice their *Iddees* (monetary presents which are given to children) for the service of Islam.

May God grant to all Mussalmans the heart to make such offerings.— Amen.

(Signed) Mian Mohammed H. J. M. Chhotani,
President.

Mirza Ali Mohamed Khan,

M. Shaukat Ali.

Honorary Secretaries.

Ahmed Haji Siddiq Khatri.

(t) *C.I.D., Bombay Presidency. May 26th.*—The Special Officer for Bolshevism writes :—"Khilafat agitation continues unabated. The terms of the Turkish Treaty announced during the week were received by the Khilafat agitators with a sense of disappointment and dissatisfaction. It is reported that in Delhi and other places in the north the names of volunteers for *hlirat* are being registered by the Khilafat Committee and a caravan of emigrants is said to have already left for Afghanistan.

The fol1owinsr is an extract from the *Times of India* of the 22nd May 1920 :—

(From our own correspondent.).

Calcutta, May 20th.

"The *Englishman's* Frontier correspondent says:—The other day twenty-two Muhammadans, the bulk from Delhi, arrived at Peshawar with the declared intention of proceeding to Kabul and there declaring their allegiance to the Amir. They said they were determined to settle in Afghanistan and would not return to India. On the whole they seemed a quiet and well-behaved party, some of them being educated men. They said some harsh things, however, about the Indian Government."

Swadeshi and boycott are strongly advocated as effective weapons of revenge in addition to non-co-operation. Extremists would have the non-co-operation resolution rigidly followed, but there is a good deal of controversy on the subject and many a Hindu has openly declared against the practicability of this resolution. In order to secure candid and hearty co-operation of the Hindus. Muhammadan agitators are now organising

an anti-cow-killing campaign, an instance of which will be found in the joint Hindu-Muslim meeting held at Ahmednagar on the 16th instant. At this meeting Maulvi Abdus Salam of the M.A.O. College, Aligarh—(connected with the Anjumane-Tablige-Islam : 65 Moulvis are attached to this institution, and, it is said, go about preaching to Muhammadans not to kill cows. Abdus Salam visited Sholapur in April last)—delivered a lecture dwelling on the dismemberment of Turkey and exhorting the audience to form a solid Hindu-Muslim unity. United he said, they could drive their common enemy across " the seven oceans ". He quoted instances from ancient history of the Hindus and the Muhammadans, including that of Arjuna, who by their prowess and enterprise had achieved success over their enemies. He said the 20th July was the date fixed for issuing a notice on Government against cow killing and for all the Muhammadans to swear by the *Koran* not to kill kine. The Moulvi harangued for about an hour. Vinayak Balwant Chowkar, pleader, presided and the audience numbered between 400 and 500. Abdus Salam left Ahmednagar for Bombay. In connection with the Khilafat agitation, the following gossip may be of interest.

The acquisition of independence by Azerbaijan is the prelude to the political renaissance of the Turkomans ; that Khiva, Bokhara and Tashkent will follow suit and these States together with Turkey in Asia will form a greater and stronger Islamic State able to hold its own against all its Christian aggressors combined.

That in view of the harsh conditions imposed on Turkey, an appeal to the sword is inevitable. The theatre of the next war will be in Asia Minor.

That Shevkat Pasha and many other Turkish officers have gone over to Mustafa Kamal Pasha who is organising a strong and powerful national army.

Mustafa is reported to have said at a public meeting that after the events in Smyrna it was foolish to expect justice from the Allies, their (the Turks) entreaties and overtures were disdainfully treated. The Turks must gird up their loins and defend their country and their religion with the sword.

General Nadirkhan is bringing about unity among the Frontier Pathans.

The dismemberment of Turkey will induce the Arabs to make a common cause with the Turks.

The downfall of Islam is indicated by their dispossession of the four keys of the world, viz., Suez, Besra, Baku and Constantinople.

The Sheikh-ul-Islam was deported because he refused to issue a *fatwn* declaring Mustafa Pasha a rebel.

The Afghan delegates refused to enter into an alliance with the British Government owing to the latter's hostile attitude towards Turkey. The Amir, it is said, will soon send an ultimatum to the British Government.

(u) S. B., Sind, Karachi, May 22nd.—At a meeting held at Pet, Larkana, District, on the 16th instant, the following men renounced their various offices under Government:—

Rais Mian Amir Muhammad renounced his chair, assessorship and membership of the Local Board, Sanitary Board and School Board.

Rais Mian Khan Muhammad of Borri village, Kakar taluka, renounced his chair,

Mian Ihsan Ali, Zamindar of Pat, renounced his chair.

Mian Muhammad Waris Sahib, Zamindar of Borri, Kakar taluka, renounced the membership of the Local Board.

(v) *S. B., Sind, Karachi, May 22nd.*—At the Caliphate meeting held at Dhoro Naro, Thar Parkar District, on the 17th and 18th instant, Sub-Inspector Ismailshah Sumarshah of the Sind C.I.D., almost at the end of the meeting, went to the platform and tendered his resignation saying that although he had served Government honestly for the last 19 years, he could not bear to see his religion in such a state of disgrace. He Was given the title of "*Fida-i-Islam* " The same evening he tendered his resignation to the Deputy Inspector-General of Police for Sind by wire and the following day his formal resignation was received in writing, in which he gives his reason. The Sub-Inspector was wired for and after being spoken to by the Deputy Inspector-General of Police was transferred to the Sind Railway Police with effect from the 21st May 1920.

The Superintendent of Police, Sind Railway, reports that his resignation will be accepted after the usual two months' notice. He is a Sayyid and had been placed on special duty under the Special Superintendent of Police attached to the C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, for anti-Bolshevism duty. Apparently having nothing to do but to attend Caliphate meeting has upset his mental balance.

(w) *Sind Railways, May 23rd.*—Sub-Inspector Ismailshah of the Sind C.I.D., who became a convert to the Caliphate propaganda at a meeting at Dhoro Naro on the 15th instant, was sent to me by the D.I.G. on the 21st He was unassumedly ashamed of himself. In his wire to the D.I.G., asking to be relieved within 24 hours, he had mentioned a *fatwa* of the Ulemas. I asked him what *fatwa* by what Ulemas necessitated his resigning. He said he did not know. He had been sitting in the meeting. Pir Ghulam Mujadid Sarhandi was presiding and Pir Assadullah Shah of Tikkur was speaking. As he recited some religious verses the Sub-Inspector suddenly felt a change come over his heart and he stood up in the meeting and announced he was with them. He is an honest man and at the present moment seems to be somewhat doubtful of his position. It is proposed to put him into Kotri Railway Police Station for two months and I have hopes that with steady work to do and immunity from the heady eloquence of Caliphate meetings he will come into his right mind again.

(x) *Larkana, May 11th.*—The Agents of the Hijrat Committee are inducing Muhammadans to give their names for hijrat.

(y) *Sukkur, May 17th.*—The *Al-Haq* and the *Sind Moslem* announce that the *Khalim-ul-Muhajirin* has been formed at Delhi to take steps for the removal of Muhammadans from British territory to Afghanistan should the Khilafat question be decided against them.

(z) *S. B., United Provinces.—From Abstract, dated May 15th para- 1125—C.I.D. Hijrat poster.* *United Provinces, May 8th.*—The Superintendent of Police. Moradabad, forwards a copy of a large poster issued by Ghulam Muhammad Azid of the office of the Muhajirin, Delhi, stating that the invitation by His Majesty the Amir has solved the problem of *hijrat*. Abdul Bari has sent him the following telegram:—

"As regards migration I hereby declare that all Muhammadans who cannot satisfy their conscience and act according to the dictates of Islam

should migrate from this country to places where they will have more facilities for the discharge of their religious duties as well as for acting according to the commandments of the holy Shariat".

Note.—Will all officers be on the lookout for the appearance of similar posters ? (S. B., Bombay Presidency.).

(I) *S. B., Sind, Karachi, May 18th*—The *Al-Wahid*, dated the 15th instant, says that Muhammadans will not follow the orders of the new Shaikh- ul-Islam. They will not consider any instructions that are against the dictates of the *Koran* and they will follow Gandhi only as long as his instructions are consistent with the Islamic laws. In conclusion, the editor asks his Muhammadan brothers to sacrifice their lives and property for the protection of Islam.

A poem composed by Fakir Sarwarbux of Thul, Jacobabad District, praying for the victory of Turkey and the speedy destruction of her enemies (i.e., the Allies) is also published in the same issue.

(II) *C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, May 22nd*.—The following is a report from the Civil Intelligence Officer, Karachi Brigade, for the 18th May 1920:—It is reported that the Khilafat agitators in Hyderabad are spreading or beginning to spread disaffection amongst the Indian Sepoys there.

On the 16th instant Aminuddin N. Munshi and several others are reported to have been present at the wrestling matches and Aminuddin spoke as follows:—" Our Holy Places have fallen into the hands of *Kaffirs* (English?). Today full information to this effect has been received. It is your duty to attend at Holmstead Hall to hear the full facts about the *Jazirat-ul-Arab* and to learn the order of our religion with regard to them".

(III) *Sind Railways, May 16th*.—In connection with the enquiry as to whether any attempts are being made to seduce troops and police from their loyalty, though it does not fall strictly under this head, it may be mentioned that the Head Constable in charge of the Sind Railway Police Reserve, who belongs to the Ahmadiyya or Qadiani sect, recently showed me two tracts published by the Qadianis : one, written in 1916 is entitled "What the Ahmadiyya Movement has done for Government", and is directed against "Ghaziism" ; the other, republished from "The Review of Religions", of October and November 1919, is entitled "The Future of Turkey" and is directed against the alleged prejudices of the Americans, French and Italian peoples towards the Turks as a ruling power. It is a very moderate statement, but as it attributes the feeling against Turkey to hatred of Islam and as it contains a lurid description of the *lynching* of a negro at Vicksburg, Mass., "only a few months ago", it is not very suitable literature for police officers.

(IV) *C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, May 22nd*.—The following is a report of the Civil Intelligence Officer, Karachi Brigade, for the 17th May 1920 :— There are now signs of anti-Khilafat agitation as is apparent from the report of a C.I.D. officer of a meeting held at Sakhi Taj Muhammad, Hyderabad, with Kazi Ibrahimshah as president It is understood that Kazi Ibrahimshah has been asked to renounce his title of Kazi of Hyderabad under the threat that otherwise he would be treated in a similar manner to the Imam of the Juma Mosque at Delhi.

Kazi Ibrahimshah in his speech said that whatever the Khilafat agitators were doing was against their religion and that such anti-religious steps were

harming the Sultan. All that could be done was to request Government to consider the question of the Sultan favourably. It was anti-Muhammada-nism to join with Hindus as also to use a Hindu place like the Holmstead Hall (Hyderabad). On this Nur Muhammad, pleader, asked the audience to pray for the safety of the Khilafat, whereupon Kazi Ibrahimshah stood up, objected and read a " *Hadis* " stating that the Khilafat would remain for 30 years only after the death of the Prophet and the last Khalifa would be Imam Hussain. After Imam Hussain there would be no Khalifa. Hence, said Kazi Ibrahimshah, there is no Khilafat question at all; but we sympathise with the Sultan.

Abdul Wahab, editor of the *Musafir* of Hyderabad, said it was useless threatening Government, who should be approached in a respectful manner. He criticised the present violent methods of the agitators.

The excitement at this meeting was very great owing to this bold speaking against the Khilafat agitation and would have ended in a disturbance (amongst themselves) had not a certain number of policemen arrived on the scene.

(V) *Hyderabad, May 16th.*—The District Magistrate writes.—" Mr. Abdul Wahab asked for police protection at a meeting he held against the Khilafat agitation. A few constables were put on duty. Nur Muhammad pleader, and a few other Khilafat agitators appeared and were beginning to abuse Abdul Wahab and Kazi Ibrahimshah, the speakers, as Kaffirs. They were sent away by the police. Action under section 107, Criminal Procedure Code, will be taken against any persons who interfere unlawfully with any such meetings."

(VI) *West Khandesh, April 23rd.*—Sayyid Muhammad walad Sayyid Yadya, Arab of Medina, appears to be active in visiting Muhammadan centres, and I think should be watched.

879. *Vide Paragraph 643 (a) Hyderabad, May 22nd.*—*The District Magistrate writes :—*"As reports and complaints were received that Khilafat agitators had incited a breach of the peace at a meeting held by Kazi Ibrahimshah and Mr. Abdul Wahab at which speeches were made against the Khilafat agitation, the District Superintendent of Police was requested to warn Sheikh Abdul Majid and four others that they could not be permitted to threaten and abuse persons who differed from them and proceedings would be taken against them under section 107, Criminal Procedure Code, if they excited a breach of the peace. The reports in the *Bharatwasi*, and the Hindu, that they behaved truculently to the District Superintendent of Police are untrue. Also the statement in the *New Times* that proceedings under section 108 were threatened appears to be a mistake for section 107, Chapter VIII, of the Criminal Procedure Code.

(b) *Larkana, May 13th.*—On the 10th May a meeting of about 50 Hindus and 150 Muhammadans took place at Fatodero under the presidency of Kazi Fateh Muhammad, ex-Municipal Councillor. Another meeting was held the following day under the presidency of Seth Gopaldas, Bench Magistrate. About 125 Mussalmans and 30 Hindus attended and the promoters and speakers were the same on both days.

Kazi Fateh Muhammad said that he and Shah Madan Shah had lost their seats in the Municipality because they had prayed for the integrity of Turkey on the 19th March.

Pandit Udhebbhan of Dadu and Kanaylal, Brahman, of Ratodero, spoke on the Hindu-Muslim unity, the use of swadeshi articles and the un-desirability of cow-killing.

Moulvi Ghulam Sidiq Nunari of Hyder Khan Chandio and Moulvi Khush Muhammad Tunion of Mirokhan urged the necessity of Hindu-Muslim unity and deprecated cow-killing.

Ghulam Sidiq said.—"India has always been loyal but now certain events have taken place which have endangered the loyalty of India. Our Holy Places are in the possession of the *Kaffirs*. How can we remain loyal under such circumstances?.....If you are Mussalmans sacrifice your lives and property and be prepared to go to jail and to face guns and cannon for the sake of Islam. It is better to die than to live.....Help Islam if you want to be included in the Muslim Party. Be prepared to carry out the orders of your religion."

Amulsing, servant of Seth Gopaldas, Bench Magistrate, said that he was glad as well as sorry that Kazi Fateh Muhammad and Shah Mardan Shah had been deprived of their seats in the Municipality and that outsiders had taken their places. He suggested that telegrams should be sent to the higher authorities.

The District Magistrate remarks:—"I had Gopaldas up and made him understand that he was going the right way to lose all his honours. The whole thing was petty pique with him because he wanted to be put on the Ratodero Municipal Council, ousting another Hindu, his relation, and managed to get a recommendation out of the Deputy Collector, but I would not put him on as I did not trust him.

"Kazi Fateh Muhammad has been troublesome for a long time."

(c)*Larkana, May 25.*—After the Caliphate meeting dispersed at Pat on the morning of the 16th May, Shaikh Abdul Aziz, Editor of the *Al Haq*, Hakim Shamsud-din of Naushahro Feroz and Moulvi Abdul Khalik of Moro and a few other men proceeded to Dadu and with the help of Dwarkadas Prasad, Brahmin of Dadu, convened a small meeting at nightfall. The audience numbered about 30. Shaikh Abdul Aziz, Shamsud-din, Abdul Khalik and Dwarkaprasad delivered short speeches. Shamsuddin and Abdul Khalik said that India had been impoverished by the British Government, her money and foodstuffs had been taken away and now her religion was being attacked. They, as well as Dwarkaprasad, said that the intentions of Government were dishonest and that if the Hindus and Mussalmans were to unite, they would be able to wrest the government of the country from the English people. Shaikh Abdul Aziz spoke chiefly on the Caliphate question and said that the European powers were bent on destroying Islam.

(d)*Nawabshah, May 25th.*—On the 17th May a small Caliphate meeting was held at the village of Mithiani, Naushero taluka, at the instance of Moulvi Fazal Muhammad and a few others while on their way back from Pat, Larkana District.

Moulvi Fazal Muhammad and Pir Parial Shah were the chief speakers. Non-co-operation, *hijrat*, *swadeshim*, and the oppressive conduct of the English in connection with the holy places of Islam were as usual the chief subjects of their discourses. In supporting the *swadeshi* movement, Moulvi

Fazal Muhammad made a statement that cows and pigs' fat were used in the manufacture of soaps coming from Europe.

Parial Shah was particularly offensive in giving expression to anti-British feelings. He raved like a maniac.

Some four men offered themselves for the service of Islam (believe *hijrat*) and their names were registered.

(e) *Nawabshah, May 25th.*—On the 20th May at Hot Khan Koloi, Moro taluka, one Maulvi Gul Muhammad, son of Muhammad Ismail, resident of Purani Gachiro, addressed a meeting of about 100 men on the subject of the Caliphate and repeated the usual remarks in connection therewith advising hijrat to Afghanistan. He collected a subscription of about Rs. 10 for assistance of Turkish Mussalmans, but passed no receipts for the amount

Towards the end of the week I interviewed some of the leading Zamindars of Naushahro circle and Moulvi Fazal Muhammad of Naushahro who is believed to be the most sincere and enthusiastic worker in the cause of the Caliphate. I explained to them at some length the extreme undesirability of using unnecessary violence and vulgar language at the Caliphate meetings, and their potentialities for mischief if they persisted in the way in which they had begun. While declaring to me that much of what I had heard was untrue and that the things had been greatly exaggerated by the Police, they admitted that some of the speakers did utter some hard things at times. They, however, promised that they would try their level best to control intemperate speeches in future. I am watching the result of this interview, but I hope the frank and informal discussion I have had with them will do some good.

I am strongly inclined to think that statements containing unfounded allegations, such as the plot to bombard the holy tomb of the Prophet, burning of the holy covering of the Kaaba, killing of pigs, opening of liquor shops and walking with shoes on in the Holy Places are creating the greatest amount of mischief, inasmuch as they can be fully understood by the illiterate and ignorant villagers and can hurt their religious susceptibilities most. I am told that when references were made at different places to the above "sacri-liges" in the course of speeches, most of the audience, including respectable Zamindars, cried and sobbed like children. Such misrepresentations are, therefore, undoubtedly of a much greater danger than any amount of political grievances—supposedly genuine—in exciting the religious fanaticism of a simple and ignorant people and embittering their very souls. It is absolutely necessary that every effort should be made to spread, by all possible means, information correcting such vilifications.

The District Magistrate remarks;—"Moulvi Muhammad Mauz and Fazal Muhammad have been to me and expressed regret that some of the uneducated speakers at meetings have been using wild expressions. They promised to try and check such fanaticism and intemperate language. I have seen several Zamindars lately on the subject of the Caliphate. Their policy is to "wait and see"; none of them seems to have made up his mind as to how far he is prepared to go with the agitators. They all hope that their loyalty to Government may not be put to the test. They have not the courage to keep away from the agitation for fear they might be boycotted and lose their influence.

"I think the Director of the Information Bureau ought to take steps to make known the truth regarding the treatment of the Tomb of the Prophet and the Kaaba. Even the facts regarding the *Shaikh-ul-Islam* have not reached the masses as yet"

(f) *S. B., Sind, Karachi, May 26th.*—On the 17th and 18th instant, a Khilafat meeting was held in the village of Dhoro Naro, district Thar Parkar, with Pir Ghulara Mujadid, Sarhandi of Matiari, as president. Maulvi Pir Mahomed, while proposing the president to take the chair, said that people would be educated for non-co-operation as the peace terms with Turkey were cruel and Islam had suffered considerable misfortunes. The president said that the English only were responsible for this and it was a mistake for them (the people) to have helped Government. It is religious duty of the Khalifa to protect the Holy Places. To deprive him of this was just like cutting a living being from the body of Islam. There was a Hadis to expel the Jews and Christians from the Arabian Peninsula and this country would have to be taken back. The bigotry and the bad faith of the Europeans was apparent from the way in which they had broken their promises as also from the ill-treatment of Moslems by the Greeks. He advised the audience not to waste time in talking. He cursed those who gave men and money for the extirpation of Islam and urged them to repent. He attributed the disorder in Europe to the prayers of Muhammadans. He thanked Mr. Gandhi and the Hindus for their sympathy and commended the actions of Amir Amanullah, Mustafa Kamil Pasha, Anwar Pasha and the Bolsheviks. He said he differed from those leaders who were against declaring a *Jihad* and said that he was ready to have his head cut off for the sake of Islam. Still, he decided to abide by the decision of the Central Khilafat Committee and Mr. Gandhi for non-co-operation. Muhomed Hasham of the Kackhol proposed non-co-operation. Pir Ismail Jan, Sarhadi, in seconding the resolution, said that with religion at their back the weakest could oppose the strongest Government and be successful. He advised them to renounce all titles. Pir Asadullah Shah of Tikhar said that by this 'peace Turkey and the Khilafat were shattered and the terms should not be accepted. Those chair and title holders who associate with the tyrants should be destroyed. At this the president declared that 11 Mullas had renounced their grants and 16 police officers, whose names he did not mention, were desirous of resigning. Pir Ali Anwar Shah of Larkana read a poem asking Muhammadans to save their religion and to the following effect....."The Prophet left the Arabian Peninsula, the *Koran* and *Ali Rasul* as his legacy. The Greeks have destroyed Muslims. If you cannot kill you should die in the cause of Islam. Curse on European manufactured goods" (Cries of 'Curse on them.') At this stage, Mahomed Kassim Mulla renounced his grant and Pir Muhomed Ali Shah returned his honours. Shaikh Abdul Majid, the editor of the *Al Amin*, in a strong speech which caused loud sounds of grief, explained the misfortune of Turkey. He told them to renounce their honours and start non-co-operation, otherwise they would go to hell. He asked for the names of those who were willing to do *hijrat* or to go to jail by infringing the law of Government. He announced himself as an enemy of the British. Aminuddin Munshi of Hyderabad said that he himself, his wife and children were ready to be sacrificed for the sake of Islam. He advised the audience to die the death of martyrs. Swami Krishnanand said that the Khilafat question was not only a Muhammadan question but it concerned the Hindus and the whole of Asia. "The Government had tied the bandage of selfishness over their eyes." He advised non-co-operation, *Hijrat* and *Jihad*. Muslim rule was a thousand times better than the present one. He recommended *Swadeshism*. Abdul Jabbar, pleader of Hyderabad, said that those Mullas who had not renounced their grants should be boycotted. At this juncture Mulla Rahim Ali stood up and asked the speaker what should be done to those Zamindars who in order to please the Khilafat party sent their children

to the Conference and remained themselves absent to please the Government. The speaker replied that if others were infidels, it was not necessary for a Mulla to be so. At this the Mulla remarked that the effect of the resignation of the Mullas could not influence Government, as Government had much more to do with zamindars than with Mullas. Abdul Jabbar in continuing his speech said that Turkey had to enter the war. According to the 14 points of the Peace terms Turkey was not to be touched but now she is being destroyed and cut up. He said that if a telegram was received announcing that Turkey had accepted the Peace Terms it should not be believed. He advised protection of Islam with non-co-operation, as Muhammadans could no longer remain loyal. The president asked the audience if they were ready to give their lives for Islam (cries of Yes, Yes). Nur Mohamed, pleader, of Hyderabad, read out the peace terms to the audience amidst cries of "We do not accept them ". He advised non-co-operation in case Turkey was forced to accept the terms. Aminuddin supported the resolution and appealed, for funds. Pir Anwar Ali Shah advised non-co-operation and said that Islam would destroy Christianity and force the English out of London as routed Pheraun and Namraud. Moulvi Makhumdin cursed the English who had troubled and were troubling Turkey. The British had influenced the Sharif to protect Egypt and convert Muslims to Christianity. All true Muhammadans should spit in the faces of Collectors and other officials. They should not conceal their identity with the Khilafat agitation. The position of an Indian was as that of a dog, in the opinion of the English. He advised the audience to go to jail for non-co-operation. He appealed to the Pirs and Ulemas to influence the people to rise for the protection of their religion. The president supported it. Aminuddin said that if a man's wife became a prostitute the man was ready to hang himself. What they should be done as regards their religion which was being polluted. He said that each leader should go to jail with one thousand people otherwise they would not be true Muslims. A resolution sympathising with those persons who were sent to jail at Jacobabad for the sake of Khilafat was passed. The support of their dependents was considered. Pir Ghulam Mujadid proposed that swadeshi articles should be used in future. Shaikh Abdul Majid announced that Tikamdas Motiram was ready to go to jail for the sake of Islam. He appealed to the audience to prepare themselves to go to jail. At this five Mullas renounced their grants. Nur Muhamed, pleader, said that Government servants should not resign until the Central Khilafat Committee and Mahatma Gandhi considered it necessary. Abdul Jabbar, pleader, stood up and asked Hafiz Mian Madri, Deputy Inspector of Education, when he was going to resign instead of coming to see what Mullas were doing. The Inspector appeared much ashamed as all the people stood up and began to gaze at him. He replied that he was waiting for the proper time. Mahomed Mulla Yusuf renounced his grant. Abdul Majid recited a couple of poems which excited the audience, and the recitation of a third caused such excitement amongst them that even Sub-Inspector Ismail Shah, who was in attendance taking notes, sent to the platform and said he would resign. He said that he had served Government honestly for 19 years, but he could not continue to do so when Government had imposed such cruel terms on Turkey. At the request of the audience he led the prayers which were offered three times with bare head and feet. Pir Anwar Ali Shah and the president compared the action of the Sub-Inspector to that of Imam Hussain. Shaikh Abdul Majid said that this was a great success for his party.

(g) *Thar and Parkar, May 25th.—The District Magistrate writes.—*" The Khilafatists held their meeting at Dhoru Naro on the 17th instant.

The police report is not yet in though I understand Boyd has received a very long screed from Partabrai, Sub-Inspector of Jhudo and last year in the C.I.D., branch.

The local paper, the *Mirpur Khas Gazette*, gave a long account of the meeting but not very much about the speeches and nothing like a verbatim report was attempted. It gave the names of several zamindars, chair-holders and men of decent position who were said to have been present. Of these one Khair Muhammad Sufi Fakir, a dufbari of the Commissioner in Sind and exempted under the Arms Act, came to see me this morning. He said he had received two invitations to the meeting—one from Pir Ghulam Mujaddid, Sarhandi, and one from Mir Jan Muhammad Walhari of Umarmat Taluka. The former is the well-known Sarhandi Pir of Matiari. He also holds land in deh Khirrol, taluka Umarmat. Khair Mahomed remarked that neither invitation stated the object of the meeting, and that consequently when he got there and found out what it was he left after 5 or 10 minutes and did not go inside the pandal. He promised to send me the invitation he got in order to let me see that zamindars were called to the meeting without knowing the Object which they were summoned to support. He also gave me to understand that the other zamindars who were present were called in the same vague manner. He told me the meeting was not a success, so he heard, and that the zamindars of that side were not favourably disposed towards the present agitation.

Apparently Pir Ghulam Mujaddid feels that he is making rather an exhibition of himself, as he wrote me a letter on 14th May, which I got on the 17th, in which he apologised for his present course of action by saying that the "responsible officers of the administration" (presumably the British Government and not the Indian) "wished not only to reduce the importance of the Muhammadan religion, but also there is danger that the Muhammadan religion may be destroyed." He is therefore, "helpless" and so writes to me for my information, and signs himself my "true friend".

This 'volte face' of the Pir is the more remarkable in that to a late date in January he was apparently all against the agitation pro-Sultan as Khalifa. He used to come and see me often in Hyderabad and Matiari, and there was little doubt that he was pro-Government until the last two or three months. I can only attribute this turning of his coat to the fact that he found Government doing nothing at all to counteract the warm and mischievous agitation of the openly disloyal Khilafatists, and so, as in the case of other men without stout hearts, he joined the side he thought would come out on top. A pleasant contrast to this adoption of the line of least resistance is the attitude taken up at a meeting at Hyderabad recently by Kazi Ibrahim Shah, Bhurgri's resignation has excited no comment yet in this district. Being an absentee for the most part, he does not mean much to the district.

(h) *Hyderabad, May 28th*—The terms of the Turkish Peace Treaty have undoubtedly caused grief to many Muhammadans, but as every clause was anticipated there has been no marked outburst. A special meeting of the members of the Caliphate Committee was summoned and sessions were held at the Holmstead Hall on the 22nd and 23rd instant to decide what steps should be taken to meet the situation. The *Bharatvasi* of the 25th instant gives the decisions arrived at. The following resolutions were passed:—

- (1) Congratulating Mr. Yacub Hussain for resigning his Membership of the Council and other honours, and deciding to place all his resources at the command of the Caliphate Committee.

(2) Congratulating Mr. Bhurgri on his resignation from the Council, but expressing regret that he had joined the non-co-operation movement and hoping that he would reconsider his decision on this point.

(3) Congratulating all Muslims in Sind who had resigned their honours, service or Mullah grants.

(4) Congratulating Muhammad Fakhar and Ahmid Ahmed for refusing to give bail and preferring to go to jail.

(5) Expressing disapprobation of the policy of Government in undertaking repressive measures against Caliphate workers.

(6) Protesting against the proclamation of the Viceroy published at the time of the announcement of the Peace terms ; stating that Government did not press the case of the Muhammadans before the peace Conference as regards the *Jazirat-ul-Arab* and the Caliphate ; that the terms are a violation of the pledges given by the British which were made to obtain the help of the Muhammadans of India; that the Terms had destroyed the temporal power of Turkey, and thus the Caliphate ; that *Jazirat-ul-Arab* had been placed in non-Muslim hands ; that all Muslims, therefore, consider that the Caliphate has been taken from them by deceit; 'hat, therefore, the Peace Terms could not be accepted by any Muham-madan; that all Hindus and Europeans dwelling in India be called upon to assist in the non-co-operation movement without permitting or encouraging any force; that all Muslims be called on to sacrifice everything they have to help in re-establishing the Caliphate.

(7) That a Committee be formed to decide how the policy of non-co-operation be carried out.

Names of the members of the Committee.—Seth Haji Abdullah Haroon, President; Taj Muhammad of Amrot, Vice-President; Muhammad Khan, Secretary ; Hakim Shamsaldin Ahmed, Joint Secretary; Seth Haji Abdulla Haroon, Treasurer; Muhammad Ali Muhammad and Mian Muhammad. Assistant Treasurers.

The Committee numbers 22, but the names of the members are not given.

The result of the meetings referred to above appears to be a split in the camp, Pir Mahbub Shah and Pir Muhammad Imam Shah, brother and son respectively of the Jhandewalla Pir, heading a faction which desired the adoption of extreme measures. The rift in the lute was evident on the 23rd evening when a notice was issued announcing a meeting at the Holmstead Hall at 9 p.m.

When the crowd arrived at the Hall they were met by men who told them to proceed to the Malakhra ground to hear Pir Mahbub Shah speak. The crowd accordingly went there and Pir Mahbub Shah began a speech exhorting all Muhammadans to sacrifice all they had for their faith. Just as he was getting into his *stride* a message was received from the other members of the Caliphate Committee inviting the crowd to come to the Holmstead Hall. This enraged Pir Mahbub Khan, who stated that " these people want to be leaders and to take all the kudos, and yet will do nothing." However, an adjournment was made to the Holmstead Hall, but the atmosphere was apparently surcharged for no further meeting was held and the people went home quietly.

(r) *Surat, May 22nd.*—The Peace Terms with Turkey published in the newspapers of the 17th instant have caused keen disappointment amongst

the Muhammadans of Surat. So far they have not made any outward manifestation of their feelings, but they are watching events from outside, especially from Northern India, and are waiting instructions from Bombay as to the course they should follow.

(j) *Poona, May 28th.*—No developments regarding the Turkish Peace Terms. No one has taken any notice of them, nor of the Viceroy's Message. Some of the Papers attribute the latter to motives of policy.

(k) *C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, June 1st.*—The District Superintendent of Police, Bijapur, reports that owing to the backward state of the inhabitants of the district, the Caliphate Question and the Turkish Peace Terms are not understood and consequently no enthusiasm is displayed. Such interest as there is comes from the pleader class.

The District Magistrate adds that he agrees with the District Superintendent of Police's estimate of the attitude of the people.

(l) *Belgaum, May 25th.*—The District Magistrate writes.—"I went round the town to see if there were any feeling among the Muhammadans over the Turkish Peace Terms. I found none."

(m) *Ratnagiri, May 22nd.*—The District Magistrate writes.—"No excitement among Muhammadans has been noticed owing to the declaration of the Turkish Peace Terms."

(n) *Kolaba, May 25th.*—The decision in regard to Turkey does not seem to have caused any visible results in this district, except that two Honorary Magistrates have resigned their seats on the Uran Bench as a protest against the decision of the Supreme Council. The resignation in both these cases is regarded as a homage to a practice lately adopted by some who are moved by motives of cheap political notoriety and not by motives of conviction. The Hindus, as a whole, seem to be indifferent as to the fate of Turkey and the Mussalmans do not seem to be particularly exercised over her so-called dismemberment.

(o) *Kanara, May 29th.*—The news about the fate of Turkey was received by the Muhammadans of Karwar without any feelings of uneasiness or disappointment.

(p) *Poona, June 1st.*—The newspaper-reading public expresses its disapproval of (a) the Turkish Peace Terms, (b) The Viceroy's Proclamation and (c) the Hunter Committee's verdict.

People are saying that if such wrongs are left unrighted the Empire of the British is bound to fail.

(q) *S. B., Sind, May 24th.*—Shaikh Abdul Majid is reported to be distributing copies of the following form in Sindhi throughout Sind and about 5,000 persons (including certain Government servants whose names have not yet been received by this office) are reported to have signed the same.

"I commence it with the name of God the Gracious.

If the decision regarding the Khilafat Islamia is not arrived at in accordance with our religious teachings and in conformity to our demands, I, the undersigned. God being my witness, promise that in obedience to your order or the orders of the Ulemas, I will—

(1) Refuse to pay taxes and land assessment;

- (2) Resign my appointment;
 (3) Return the titles given to me;
 (4) Resign the membership of the Council, the Municipality or the Local Board;
 (5) From today purchase Swadeshi articles;
 (6) be ready to do *hijrat*;
 (7) If necessity arises be ready to go to jail if Government will not permit *hijrat*;
 (8) not injure or harm the life and property of anybody, but I will be ready to sacrifice my property and life in the interests of the Khilafat.
 So please God (*Insha-Allah-Tallia*).

Name.....Father's name.....
 Occupation and monthly income.....Age Married
 or Unmarried Number of Children Value of
 Property, Village, Taluka
 District Amount of Assessment, Amount of
 Tax.....

Please strike out those items which are not applicable or those which are not acceptable."

(r) *S. B., Sind, Karachi, May 8th.*—An officer reports.—"Jan Muhammad Bhurgri, brother of the Honourable Mr. G. M. Bhurgri, has submitted his resignation of the Office of Vice-President of the District Local Board which he was holding. This is due to the Caliphate agitation apparently. It is said that he received a letter from the District Magistrate, Mirpurkhas, asking him to be loyal to Government as he was Vice-President of the local Board and in reply he tendered his resignation.

(s) *Karachi, May 28th.*—The following is an extract from the *Bharatvasi* of the 27th May : —

"*Hijrat.*—Intention of the Editor of the *Al Amin*.

To the Manager, *Bharatvasi.*—'As I have to go away on *hijrat* and as I am busy preparing for the same, I have to leave the editorship of the *Al Amin* paper. I have also wired the facts to Mr. Ghulam Muhammad Bhurgri.

All readers should, therefore, await until another editor is forthcoming when the *Al Amin* will continue its publication.'

Shaikh Abdul Majid.

(t) *S. B., Sind, Karachi, May 29th.*—The following appeared in the *New Times* of Karachi on the 26th May : —

25,000 Sindhi Muslims ready for *Hijrat*.

Telegram to the Governor.

Hyderabad, Sind, May 24th.

(By wire).—From Mr. Jan Muhammad Junejo Bar., the Secretary, *Sind Hijrat Committee*, Larkana:—

The *Sind Hijrat Committee* formed at Jacobabad met at Hyderabad (Sind) when the following telegram, was sent to the Political Secretary to His Excellency the Governor of Bombay:—

"25,000 Muslims ready for *hijrat* to Afghanistan on account of interference in religion ; if any formality, please wire."

(u) *C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, May 31st*—The following appeared in the *Loksangraha* of the 28th May : —

" 25,000 Mussulmans have decided to go to Kabul and if they go they will place before them the example of their *Paigambar* who invaded Mecca and took possession of it. They have started the Caliphate movement, being inspired with the principle that no compromise is possible in the matter of religion. Therefore, Muhammadans who are now going to Kabul, or will go there in time to come, are the future enemies of the British. It is a question whether these enemies should be allowed to go away or live where, they are. Similarly, it is a question how long and how far Government will allow these departures. India is the home of religion. Europe is being divided on the principle of religion. The Christian religion or civilisation cannot thrive under Turkish rule and the dismemberment of Turkey is sanctioned by the Allies in order that the Christian race should be paramount everywhere. All this is done in the interest of Christian civilisation."

(v) *Bombay, May 31st*.—A notice regarding *hijrat* has been pasted up at a mosque in Bhendi Bazaar recommending that men who wish to do it should repair to Rawalpindi.

Two wooden guns (imitation rifles) are being used by the Caliphate Volunteers.

(w) *S. B., Rajputana and Ajmer-Merwara—From Abstract, dated May 29th, paragraph 80—Caliphate Agitation*.—The Superintendent of Police, Ajmer-Merwara, reports that two more notices were found pasted in the Ajmer city on the matter of *hijrat*. Local Muhammadans are forming the opinion that Abdul Bari has rather contradicted himself. Some time ago he said India was not *Dar-ul-harb* but *Dar-ul-Islam*, as it is only in *Dar-ul-harb* that *Jihad* or *hijrat* can take place : they do not understand his present attitude. Also they say that *hijrat* is only for those who can afford it, and, as nobody can afford it, they are not seriously considering it

(x) *Note by S. B., Rajputana*.—The two Urdu notices referred to in the above report have been issued over the signature of Ghulam Mahomed Aziz Amritsari from the *Muhajarin's* Office, Fatehpuri, Delhi. They contain Abdul Bari's proclamation that all Muhammadans are exhorted to do *hijrat* and asks intending emigrants to register their names at the above office; also the information that the date fixed for departure will be intimated through newspapers or notices in about two weeks' time.

(x) *Ahmedabad, May 29th*.—The District Magistrate writes.—"Gandhi and Vallabhbhai Patel came to me on the morning of the 18th with Mangal-das Girdharidas in connection with the settlement of the Spinners' strike. That business was soon settled and Mangaldas left. I asked Gandhi to remain. He did so and Vallabhbhai did so likewise. Gandhi held forth for more than an hour upon the khilafat campaign and many other matters, while I listened. He went rather far afield in his discourse, even to discussing the relative methods of Christianity and Hinduism, but the gist of it was this.

"He cared nothing for Turkey as such, but the Indian Muhammadans did, and, as Government was breaking their clear promises to the Indian Muhammadans, he considered that their cause was a good one and felt justified in championing it. Incidentally it was a glorious opportunity for unifying Hindu and Muhammadan sentiment, without which nothing great could be achieved in India. But the fight was really a bigger one than a mere struggle with the Government of India or Great Britain. It was

a fight between soul-force and brute-force and in waging it he had the good of England and Europe as much in mind as that of India. His object was to prove that a new force had been born into the world before which fleets and armies and all the methods of a material civilization would prove useless. He believed that India was better fitted than any country in the world to receive this new teaching, and if he could carry the country with him he believed that the victory of soul-force over brute-force was assured; and that this victory would open the eyes of the world and ultimately convert them to his way of thinking. Soul-force consisted practically of passive resistance to wrong and injustice : to force it opposed not force but suffering India could hope for nothing from force and violence. If a single act of violence were committed by his followers he would consider the cause lost and acknowledge defeat that is, he would abandon his campaign about the Khilafat. It was not only that he realised how easily violence could be put down, how helpless the Eastern world was, confronted with the material resources of the West. But violence was opposed to his creed and was a betrayal of India's mission. If he could transform India, by wishing, to a sort of Japan he would not do so. Japan was on the same evil road as Western nations, and India had a higher destiny.

"I asked him if he did not think that the masses when refused would proceed to violence as they did last year. He admitted the danger, but said that but for his influence with the Muhammadans there would have been violence already. Besides nothing great was ever done without risk. He had been on four battlefields and seen life thrown away for mere chances of some advantage. If the believers in force were willing to do that why should we not also risk lives in a sacred cause ? ,

" I asked him what he proposed to do. He said : Make a representation to the Home Government fixing a time limit of three months within which they would take no measures except ' sounding the country'. I asked whether this meant stirring up the country, and he admitted that he means this. He would probably tour the Punjab with this object.

" I told him that this would certainly end in bloodshed ; but he was very cocksure about his ability to control the Muhammadans there or anywhere, and boasted that he had already succeeded in doing so in Sind."

(y) *Bombay, May 31st.—Caliphate Situation.—Developments* up to midday. Tuesday, the 1st June.—The Peace Terms.—A meeting of four or five thousand Muhammadans including a few Hindus was held on the 28th to protest against the Turkish Terms. "*Nasir-ul Islam*" Chhotani was in the chair. As at the time of the last meeting, many of the Bombay Members of the Central Caliphate Committee were absent. Nor was any Hindu of any note observed. The speeches were much more moderate than those delivered at the meeting a few days ago. Shaukat Ali and Nur Muhammad, though present, did not speak. Four resolutions were passed—one denouncing the Peace Terms ; a second expressing sympathy with the people of Sind in the face of official misconduct; a third congratulating Muhammad Fakhir and Hamid Ahmed upon their sacrifice for Islam; and a fourth enjoining special contributions during the Ramzam to the *Caliphate Baitul mal*. The most important features of the meeting were the announcement by Chhotani of (1) the relinquishment of his J.P ship and (2) the policy of restricted non-co-operation, of which further details are given below.

The Peace Terms continue to be a target for criticism by the Press ; but except as above indicated there have been, during the week, no further expressions of public opinion on the subject.

The cablegram from Muhammad Ali to Chhotani should be noted in this connection. (See below.)

Central Caliphate Committee's Activities and Policy.—Ghulam Muhammad Bhurgri and Syed Rifai, one of the Bombay members of the Central Caliphate Committee, have resigned. Mirza Ali Muhammad Khan has resigned both his Honorary Secretaryship and his membership on the ground that he cannot support an unconstitutional measure, such as non-co-operation which has been accepted by the Committee.

The Allahabad meeting is being held on the dates originally fixed notwithstanding the following urgent telegram to its promoters from Ajmal Khan and Ansari :—

"Meeting All-India Congress Committee coming of thirtieth regarding elections binding on Congressmen may hamper Caliphateurgd Central Caliphate Committee holding meeting Benares one day earlier Mahatmaji presence essential."

At the moment of writing all the Bombay leaders of the agitation are participating in the deliberations at Allahabad.

Invitations to the Joint Conference, fixed for Allahabad simultaneously with the meeting of the Central Caliphate Committee, have been issued practically to all the prominent leaders throughout India without distinction of religion and caste and regardless of the opinion already expressed on the policy of non-co-operation. Among those invited, for instance, are Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Sir Dinshaw Wacha, Mrs. Besant, Sir Narayen Chandawarkar and Mr. Natrajan, all of whom have publicly announced their disapproval of unconstitutional agitation. In reply to her invitation Mrs. Besant wired : "Will be present but I disagree" Baptista's letter expressing his inability to attend the meeting contained outspoken criticism of the policy of " Gandhism ". Others who joined in the chorus of disapproval are Sir Narayen Chandawarkar, Dr. Satyapal and Professor Paranjpe.

Non-co-operation.—The most important news for several weeks past is the announcement made by Chhotani on the 28th of the new policy of restricted non-co-operation. This policy is outlined in the Manifesto of which a copy is attached. The circumstances under which that manifesto, was issued are explained in the covering letter (copy attached). This new moderation constitutes a reversal of the decision arrived at by the specially convened meeting of the Central Caliphate Committee on the 12th May.

MANIFESTO

ISSUED BY

The Central Khilafat Committee of India

As a crisis of the first magnitude is being reached on the question of the Khilafat, it is necessary, even at the risk of repetition, to state its terms, and to define the means to be adopted for seeking redress.

The Muslim claim is :—

(1)European Turkey to be left as it was at the time of the war, specially where the Muslim population was preponderant, with such guarantees as may be necessary for fair treatment of non-Muslim races.

(2)Tie retaintion of Turkish suzerainty over *Jazirat'-ul-Arab* with self-government for the Arabs if they so desire; *Jazirat-ul-Arab* includes :— Hedjaz. Yeman, Najd. Iraq (Mesopotamia), Palestine and Syria. The

Muslim religious authorities define the *Jazirat-ul-Arab* as a country bounded by the Mediterranean, the Red Sea, the Indian Ocean, the Persian Gulf, the Euphrates and the Tigris.

((3) The Khalifa's control of Holy Places of Islam, viz., the three Sacred *Harams*, namely, Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem, and the Holy Shrines, namely, Najfa, Karbala, Samarra, Kazmain and Baghdad.

This claim is supported by President Wilson's declaration and pledges of Mr. Lloyd George and Lord Hardinge. It is supported by Islamic scriptures and is therefore a religious question with the Mussalmans, and, as Hindus desire to show their brotherly feeling towards their Muslim fellow countrymen by co-operating with them, it is also a question of such magnitude as to overshadow all others. On the political side, again, the Indians have a right to examine the justice or otherwise of all measures that may be contemplated for determination of countries subjugated with the help of Indian men and money, for instance. Mesopotamia. We believe that if the Turkish question is not settled to the satisfaction of the Mussalmans, more men and money will be required from India to keep order in Muslim countries, which will materially retard the progressive development of our own.

There is no question of compromise in this matter of life and death with millions of Mussalmans. We still hope that justice will be done, but if fortunately the issue is decided against us, then there is no rest for India till the.....redressed.

We shall not count the cost in order to secure a just solution, and we hold that in making His Majesty's Ministers fulfil their promises, we shall have served the Empire of which we claim to be members. We have studied the Peace Terms and we consider that they are a direct violation of the pledges referred to and in no way calculated to satisfy the requirements of justice or of Islamic Law.

The remedy that lies before the Hindus and Muhammadans is simple. The least we can do is not to help the Government if it supports the wrongs.

We must, therefore, advise the country to withdraw co-operation from the Government and continue to, do so till justice is done.

But we have no desire to take hasty steps which may result in violence or unnecessary embarrassment to the Government

We wish to state in the most emphatic terms that in the joint Hindu Moslem scheme of action there is, at no stage of it, any idea of doing violence secretly or openly. We recognise that the pressure must be peaceful and moral. We must evoke sympathy by suffering. We wish to cultivate a world opinion in favour of our cause by inviting suffering on ourselves. Violence can only retard the process of enlightenment.

We therefore propose to resort to non-co-operation in the following stages for the time being :—

(1) Surrender of honorary offices and titles and stopping of all voluntary financial support,

(2) Surrender of civil employments under Government

(3) We reserve our opinion as to the other stages suggested and approved by the Central Khilafat Committee.

(4) The methods we wish to adopt for the purpose of securing the acceptance by those concerned are of the foregoing programme and open

agitation in the press and on the platform to individual canvassing. We shall neither use nor tolerate any force being exercised; we shall depend upon argument and social pressure to bring about non-co-operation. Definite steps to be taken will be advised from time to time. It is hoped that no one will take initiative without consultation with the authority of the Joint Committee.

No departure from policy will be taken without joint deliberation. It has been stated that the Hindus have serious misgivings about the ultimate aim. The Mussalman signatories therefore desire to state that they have no other aim than to serve their religion and the country of their birth. In serving their religion they wish to keep the Khilafat intact. They certainly desire the Muhammadan powers all the world over to prosper for the common good of humanity. But they do not desire to oust England and introduce a Muhammadan or any other power to rule over India. They wish to realise the highest national aspirations in association with the British, but they would certainly seek to end the British connection if it hampers India's advance or if it puts affront upon cherished religious sentiments.

At the same time, it should be remembered that India's loyalty in terms of the proclamation of 1858 is conditional upon absolute protection of all religions flourishing within the British Empire.

The Mussalmans of India will fight to the last man in resisting any Mussalman power that may have designs upon India. They wish to respect to the full the religious sentiments of the Hindus, and they expect them to respect in an equal measure those of the Mussalmans. The latter have realised by bitter experience that too often have the bureaucracy played the one against the other. Disputes and differences we shall have. It should be our duty to settle them all by mutual discussion or arbitration. The Mussalmans desire to state further, that whilst they do not accept the view that boycott of British goods is not a lawful political weapon, out of consideration for some of their Hindu friends they have abandoned the boycott propaganda. They, however, realize that the country has become impoverished and enslaved by reason of having abandoned Swadeshi. We shall, therefore, by every means at our disposal restore Swadeshi to its original status, and we advise all to encourage home manufactures, even though it may be at some inconvenience and sacrifice, and to encourage hand-weaving and hand-spinning and all other cottage industries so as to be independent, so far as possible, even of all foreign machinery.

Our attention has also been drawn to the unrest in the student world. We desire to state that students ought not to take active part in the agitation save in so far as it is necessary from the religious standpoint. In no case should they harbour thoughts of violence.

Finally, the Mussalmans desire to observe that whilst they expect full success through the peaceful method of non-co-operation they realize that either through Hindu apathy or disunion amongst Mussalman ranks, non-co-operation may fail to achieve the end. In that case and no other the Mussalmans reserve to themselves the right to take such other and further steps as may be enjoined upon, them by their religion for the purpose of securing a satisfactory solution of the Khilafat question;

The framers of this Manifesto invite all who wish to help movement, and who wish to avoid violence and guide it through proper and healthy channels, to sign this and give such-support as they are capable of giving. We

expect that the course of action we have outlined is not only in the interest of the faith of millions of Muslim subjects of the Empire, but also in the interest of the Empire itself, to which we have shown our active loyalty times without number.

OFFICE OF THE CENTRAL KHILAFAT COMMITTEE :

MILTON HOUSE,

NEAR PARSI STATUE,

Bombay, 23rd May 1920.

Dear, Sir,

I am writting this on behalf of the Central Khilafat Committee of India to request you to kindly attend its urgent meeting on the 1st June at Allahabad, and to give it the benefit of your advice and assistance. As you are no doubt aware, these are the most critical times for us, and we the Muslims have to make decisions the gravity of which cannot be minimized. We have had all along the advice and active co-operation of our Hindu brethren, for which we are most grateful.

I feel sure that after hearing our religious obligations in this case, explained to you by competent authorities, you would be able to offer us such advice and assistance as would help our cause. We have no other desire except to see the just demands of Islamie law fully satisfied. I need not assure you that your advice would receive our utmost consideration. I am writing to all the leading Hindu brethren of all shades of political opinion from all parts of India.

I know it would be very hot in Allahabad in June and you will have to bear many inconveniences, but for the sake of your Muslim brethren you will gladly put up with them.

I have fixed the 1st of June for the meeting, so that those who are attending the All-India Congress Committee meeting at Benares on the 30th and 31st May may easily run up to Allahabad. We will make arrangements for your comforts either in hotels or with friends.

Kindly let me hear from you by wire—"Khilafat"—Bombay would do for address.

An early reply would oblige.

I remain,

Your's sincerely,

MIAN MOHAMED HAJI JAN MOHAMED CHHOTANI,

President,

Central Khilafat Committee of India.

The question of welcoming the Prince of Wales continues to exercise the minds of many. Numerous communications on the subject practically all anonymous, have reached the Central Caliphate Committee. The letter from Yacub Hussan to Shaukat Ali (copy attached) purports to give Madras in pellicular and India in general a lead in this matter. It also suggests the attitude to be adopted by Muhammadan leaders in respect of the impending Council elections. This letter elicited from Chhotani and Shaukat Ali the following telegraphic reply : " Well done God's Good Man. Letter follows. " : —

Copy of a letter; dated the 23rd May 1920, by Yacub Hassan, Madras, to Shaukat Ali.

Thanks for your letter from Ahmedabad. I expected to hear from you after the publication of my letter to Lord Willingdon. I have wired a copy to Lloyd George, Montagu and Mahomed Ali.

I cannot understand why Mr. Gandhi has written to the Press that it is premature to give up titles and honorary posts. All other methods have failed to influence the Treaty and as a last resort in order to bring about the revision of the terms, non-co-operation must be resorted to. Non-cooperation, as I understand it, is a means to an end and not an end itself to be resorted to when the Peace Treaty becomes an accomplished fact.

I enclose a draft communication regarding the elections to Councils. It will show the authorities what our attitude will be on the occasion of the Prince of Wales' visit. This will make them more nervous than other forms of non-co-operation for they are very touchy where the King's son is concerned. We will hold a meeting on the 25th to express our views on the Treaty.

I would attend the Central Committee provided it is not held on the 27th as you intend to do. Delhi is too far off. Bombay is perhaps exhausted and it is not advisable to meet too often at one place. Why not try Calcutta. It is central and equidistant from Delhi, Bombay and Madras. Bengali Mussalmans require rousing too.

We have huge work before us and not a minute should be wasted. I shall be glad to come and assist you if you think I can be of any use out of Madras. I have started the ball rolling here; one or two more pushes, and it will keep in motion till my return from the north.

Elections and the Khilafat.

A question has been put to me that in view of the acute situation that has arisen in respect of the Khilafat what should be the attitude of Mussalmans in connection with the elections to the Reform Councils, Assembly and Council of State.

We cannot foresee events that may take place in the near future and cannot now, in anticipation of a certain contingency, abstain from participation from the elections to the bodies which will only assemble in January next. I have consulted several leaders of opinion in this matter and we have come to the following conclusion. In countries where Legislative bodies have been in existence for some centuries, candidates always make their attitudes on the burning question of the day the principal plank in the electioneering campaign, and all parties in India are now following the same method. The Khilafat question is the one topic which occupies, and will continue to occupy for a long time, the mind of Mussalmans to the exclusion of almost all other questions. The electors are sure to exercise their franchise in favour of candidates who have rendered the greatest service to Islam, in a matter that vitally affects its very existence as an important world power and universal brotherhood. The candidates should give an undertaking to their electorates that if the Turkish Treaty is not substantially modified in deference to the wishes of Indian Mussalmans they will as a protest refuse to take the oath of allegiance to the Crown and sit as a member in the first meeting of the Council which His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales will open. I and my friends, whose number is legion, will support the candidature of those who have given, and are prepared to give, their best to the cause of Khilafat and Islam in preference to those who are disposed to equivocate in this matter of national life and death.

Muhammad Daud Guznavi of Amristar has addressed to Shaukat Ali a letter, dated the 22nd May, in which he outlines an improved scheme of propaganda for influencing the Punjab generally and the recruiting districts in that province in particular. The idea is an organised system of paid Caliphate preachers. A copy of this letter is attached.

Khilafat Propaganda.

Mohammad Daud Ghaznavi of Amritsar has addressed to Shaukat Ali a letter, dated the 22nd May 1920. After describing as " salt on wounds " the Viceroy's message about the Peace terms he urges that the forthcoming Conference should be held after, not during, the Ramzan, and proceeds as follows :—

" Thirdly, I have to state that I put forward a proposal about the propagation and spread of the Khilafat movement which will have a very great effect on our special objects and which is more needed in the Punjab, especially in those districts. In the Province which took a prominent part in recruitment for the army during the war. This proposal has been devised after sufficient thought and consideration and in view of the conditions of the province, and it is hoped that you will pay attention to it and adapt useful and easy means to make it a success:

That paid preaches and propagandists should be employed in the Punjab generally, and in the particular districts especially as soon as possible. There should be three preachers for every district, i.e., one for every Tahsil, and one of whom will be the chief, and, besides working in his Tahsil, will supervise the work of others also. These workers in the districts will send their weekly or fortnightly reports to the office of the Central Committee or to someone in the Punjab the Committee so order. The pay of each preacher should be from thirty to fifty rupees. Both the upper and inferior employees of the army come to their homes on leave and this will be the best instrument of propagation among them. The large amount of expenditure on this should not frighten. This is one of the greatest objects. I will also try that the Khilafat Committee in each district relieve the Central Committee of the expenses. of these preachers as much as they can. It will be necessary to keep up this arrangement for one year at the most or even for six months. I hope you will very soon sanction this and inform me so that I might begin the work. This will help us on a very large scale and it will also prepare your community, and immediate action will be begun on the instructions received from your side. I want to go out in connection with my propaganda work. Kindly send me a reply very soon. I will be obliged. Further salaam."

Attitude of Ceylon.—To a communication from the Central Caliphate Committee, one S. L. Naina Marikar, Colombo, has replied that his country has no desire to join in the Caliphate or any other agitation against the British Government, to which all the Singalese are grateful.

Muhammad Ali wires to Chhotani that the best relief officer is the Turkish Governor of Smyrna, but that the majority of refugees are in Greek territory. He has sent a second reminder to Mr. Montagu regarding passports but has received no reply. Almost all the French papers criticise the Treaty and the Chamber and Senate are uniquely unanimous. The Government have asked that the interpellations may be postponed probably pressing England.

Abdul Bari is expected to pay a visit to Bombay immediately after the pressing England.

At the instance of Abdul Bari the Central Caliphate Committee has recently interested itself in the sailings of pilgrim ships from Bombay. The occasion for this interest at this particular juncture is not known.

The attached translation of a letter from Abinash Chandra Sen Gupta is interesting in that this is the first instance on record during the present agitation of personal sacrifice by a Hindu for the Caliphate Cause . —

Date of censorship	Sender and date of letter	Address	Substance, extract, etc.
28th May 1920	Abinash Chandra Chhotani Sen Gupta, 30, Dickenson Road, Bangalore, 25 th May 1920.		Says : " I am a Bengali young man.I wish to work on behalf of the sacred cause of Islam. Though a Hindu I will feel proud to sacrifice my life for Islam if necessary. So I resigned my post of Upper Subordinate Officer in the Survey of India Department on the 17th May last and I am quite free now. If you permit I may come to you. Fervently hope you will kindly allow me an opportunity to serve my country and religion." P. S.—Please do not publish it now.

(z) *C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, June 4th.*—The following is an extract from the *Times of India* of June 1st: —

Non-co-operation.

Its impracticabilities.

Sir N. G. Chandavarkar's Advice

Bangalore, May 31.

Sir Narayan Chandavarkar was invited to the Khilafat Conference, which is to open at Allahabad on June 1, but he has wired to Mr. Chhotani, the President of the Khilafat Committee, as follows :—

" I regret my inability to attend the Conference, as the invitation was received too late. I would gladly support and join the movement for a united and reasoned and emphatic appeal to the Allies, the British in particular, pointing out that the Turkish Peace Terms are unjust and politically and religiously impolitic. Such an appeal, in my humble opinion, would, in the long run, succeed in strengthening the cause of Islam, especially because the opinion in Europe and America among the eminent statesmen is steadily growing that the Turkish Peace Treaty, as a whole, is unsatisfactory and requires revision.

"Therefore, I humbly and earnestly advise unresentful action and deprecate and disapprove measures of non-co-operation and the like as impracticable and inopportune and sure to fail, being opposed to general Indian sentiment and only calculated to result in discord, suffering, and loss, marring the cause.

" The British Government is bound by its interests to Islam more than the other Allied Powers; therefore, we must secure its support by friendly action and not spoil the cause by resentful, impracticable movements. "

(I) *C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, June 4th*—The following is an extract from the *Mahratta*, dated the 30th May 1920 :—

Non-co-operation ideas.

There are two ideas of non-co-operation in the field before the public. One has been started by Mahatma Gandhi as a protest against the humiliating Turkish Treaty, and the other is put forward by Mr. Pal as the logical outcome of his interpretation of the Amritsar Congress resolution. The two are distinct from each other and must not be confused by anybody. The first is primarily confined to Muhammadans, and is, according to Mahatma Gandhi's plan, to be worked out in four stages. There is a sharp difference of opinion among the leading Muhammadans themselves as to the utility and expediency of it, and until and unless our Moslem brothers agree upon rejecting or accepting it, their Hindu brothers cannot follow them consistently. The resignations of the members of the Khilafat Committee, the open opposition of the leaders like Mr. Bhurgri and others, and the absence of any striking response from the Moslem public, have made the problem a hopeless tangle, and it is therefore absolutely necessary that some definite conclusion should be arrived at. Until that happens this non-co-operation scheme will lack vigour and sternness. We cannot think that men of sterling patriotism and flaming religious fervour like Mr. Bhurgri are like invertebrate Moderates of loyalists who pretend to frown upon Government sometimes. And a movement which lacks support of such men cannot therefore be expected to be a success.

S. B., Sind, Karachi, May 0th.—The following is taken from the *New Times* of the 7th May:—

Sind Madressah Old Boys'
Dinner: Abandonment of on
account of the Khilafat
question.

Sind Madressah Old Boys' Dinner.

(To the Editor of the *New Times*.)

Sir,—I have read in your paper an extract from the *Al Haq* strongly objecting to the holding of the Sind Madressah Old Boys' Association Annual Dinner in these days when the whole Islamic world is in mourning. I have also received letters to that effect from Mr. Taj Muhammad, Editor of the *Al Haq*, Mr. Akhmud Rasoolbux, Private Secretary to Pir Sahib Pagaro, a Kingri, and several other friends, asking me, as a member of the Standing Committee, to get the dinner cancelled. With a view to respect popular opinion, I have now written to the Secretary to cancel the dinner and to hold only the Annual Meeting where accounts and reports should be passed and new elections of officers made. The Secretary is circulating my letters, along with the enclosures, among the members of the Association to ascertain their opinion. I hope all members will agree with me and cancel the dinner; otherwise, I am afraid, our Association will be boycotted by many useful and energetic persons.

Kazi Abdul Rahman,
Editor, *Al Wahid*.

The mention of Akhmud Rassoolbux as Private Secretary to the Pir of Kingri is significant. This is presumably the tutor to the son of the Pir whose participation in the Caliphate agitation has already been commented on. The association of such a man with the Pir of Kingri, whether as his private Secretary or otherwise, is ill-omened.

(a) S. B., Central Provinces. From Abstract, dated May 8th, S. B., C. P., May 3rd.—

Khilafat Agitation in India. The following note on the Khilafat agitation prepared by the Director, Criminal Intelligence, is published for general information :—

The bearing of the Khilafat agitation.—It is now months since a telegram from England warned the Muhammadans of India that peace with Turkey was imminent and its terms likely to be severe. This was the origin of a movement which has combined two currents of thought, one moderate and religious, the other seditious and revolutionary, and proceeded by a series of climax to a point from which it is possible to jockey all Muhammadans, loyal and far-seeing ones as well as the mob, into a position of such constraint that many of the former will be swept away if the tide of religious feeling rises high enough. Whether one regards the agitation as one more added to the disturbing element of Indian life, or whether, more truly, one regards it as the complement of all these other elements linking them together and giving to them a fire of unreasoning reality, one must take it seriously. In this note it is not proposed to do more than sketch the outlines of the agitation in order to bring into relief the reality of it; nor are copious quotations from speeches given, only an attempt is made to show the development of the arguments used by the speakers.

The first telegram from England led to the first Khilafat Committee in Bombay. This was a moderate body presided over by Chhotani. It was eagerly supported by a number of keen young politicians and must undoubtedly have appealed to a very large body of moderate Muslim opinion. Its activities were somewhat sluggish until stimulated by the younger men, who in several places seem to have chafed under the control of their elders. These men spread the agitation as widely as possible before the first climax was reached. This climax was the boycott of the Peace Celebrations on the ground that the Government was crying peace where there was no peace. By this time prominent Hindu Politicians had been drawn into the movement in the name of the Hindu-Moslem Entente—Mr. Gandhi seems to have raised the boycott project; at least he gave it his approval, and in many places such success as it attained was due to the activity of local Hindu politicians. But the time for organization had not been sufficient and the boycott was not a sensational success, though in most places it caused a serious curtailment of the programme of celebrations, and gave great prominence to the Khilafat question throughout India. So far in pose at least the agitation had not been seditious. It pretended to strengthen the hands of the sympathetic Indian Government in pressing the Indian Moslem view on the Peace Conference. It was claimed several times then and since that the Indian Government favoured, if it did not openly approve, the agitation.

The second current of thought was loosed by the Amnesty, which released from internment the Ali Brothers, Abul Kalam Azad and others whose Pan-Islamic cast of mind had long been directly opposed to the British Indian Government. They at once joined the fanatics of the old agitation, men like the Maulvis of the Feringhi Mahal, and found followers in the younger men who had chafed at the restraint of the first moderate leaders. The first signs of the coming storm were seen in the receptions given to the Ali Brothers on their journey from Betul to Amritsar to take part in the Congress

and Muslim League meetings. These meetings gave the Pan-Islamists an opportunity to link themselves with the Hindu extremists, to join in torrents of vilification of Government, and to make a bold bid for general Hindu support by causing the Muslim League to make a public renunciation of cow sacrifice. Sure of support the Pan-Islamists then began extended tours in which they indulged in much violent speaking. This culminated in the Calcutta Conference which gave practical expression to the doctrine of contingent disloyalty and placed in violent terms the Christian Moslem issue before the country. This Conference, and particularly Abdul Bari's speech which was almost a declaration of *jihad* and spoke of soaking Christians in kerosine and burning them alive, provoked a reaction. The moderates of Bombay became alarmed. But they were muzzled at once by the threat of the Calcutta Conference to take the complete direction of affairs in their own hands and by the warning that would ruin the cause of Islam by disunion. The only result was that Abdul Bari was not allowed to make more public speeches, possibly on the ground that his speeches revealed too much.

The Calcutta Conference, among its other extravagances, had ordained a definite and immediate object of effort in the shape of a second climax, the Hartal of March 19th. This date was apparently selected because the announcement of the Turkish Peace Terms was expected immediately after it. Nothing was spared to make this Hartal a success and to prevent any explosion of violence. Agitation was no longer confined to large centres of population, but was carried almost to every district. Conferences were held and district committees formed. And the good work was assisted, as it had been assisted all along, by the fragmentary news wired by Reuter concerning the designs of the Allies towards Turkey and the feeling aroused against her in England. The opportunity was too good to lose; while the leaders acquitted themselves with energy their efforts were almost eclipsed by those of a crowd of Moslem agitators whose eloquence, together with that of their Hindu Extremist allies, all bore in the single direction of dissolving every bond of loyalty between Government and its servants and subjects. Most of the speeches delivered prior to March 19th had a strong family likeness; in a few cases similar terms of abuse were employed simultaneously in widely distant places. Space does not allow any summary of speeches: a summary of arguments is alone possible.

That the Sultan of Turkey was the Khalif of Islam and that any interference with the Sultan was an attack on religion were by this time accepted as truism, whatever their historical accuracy. When the Pan-Islamists seized the direction of affairs the demands that all the Moslem Holy Places should be in the wardenship of the Khalif, that the integrity of the Turkish Empire should remain in tact as it stood before the war, had been added. The British Premier's pledges too had been freely quoted. But a feverish fertility of invention marked the preparations for the Hartal. It was declared by speaker after speaker that Turkey alone of the late belligerents had been marked out for spoliation of territory ; that the late war had been in truth a crusade; and that those who had fought against the Khalif and died were Kafirs, and those who had survived should be excommunicated, as well as those who should in future take service in the Army under the British Government or should contribute to its loans. It was argued that Britain alone was anxious to destroy Turkey while the other Allies would

spare her, that Britain had drowned her pledges and her sense of justice to her Moslem subjects in a wave of Christian bigotry. Islam was dead and her funeral being prepared vengeance also remained to her followers. Christians and Englishmen were anathema. The great final argument, crowing racial and religious rancour was that of contingent disloyalty, that if the Turkish question were not settled consonantly with the wishes of Mussalmans. It would be their duty to act, as it was variously expressed, in accordance with the dictates of their religion or by severing all connections of loyalty with the British Government. In effect, the agitation was transformed under the guise of religion into a political movement against the British Indian Government, which was probably the staunchest friend left to Turkey. This political character was clearly seen by the attempts made in various parts of India to connect the agitation with other forms of unrest, economic and purely political.

March 19th, whether the *Hartal* was intended to advertise the agitation or, as seems more likely, to measure the amount of support on which the leaders could rely, was a great success. Though prayer and fasting was not conspicuous, cessation of business, both Hindu and Muhammadan, was fairly complete. Meetings were generally held in India and Burma; the disloyalty resolution of the Calcutta Conference was passed with only more or less modification in some places, the modifications being due generally to Hindu timidity. The cessation did not include Government servants because Government issued a warning to its servants beforehand; nor mill workers, nor coolies, because the agitators wished to avoid violence.

Such was the second climax, an immense advance on the first and testifying by its success to the superior effectiveness of the methods adopted by the enemies of Government. In describing these methods I have dealt only with the leaders who have shown that they will stick at nothing. In every agitation there are the agitated as well as the agitators. Of the latter many are desperate men ; of the former it is more difficult to judge. So far only one Province has attempted to review results, and that the United Provinces, regards the masses, who have heard the speeches described as excited but not desperate. But everywhere the agitators have addressed enormous meetings of thousand of men who have received their most extravagant fights with applause. A feature of many meetings have been interruptions by men who said in effect: ' Enough of words, it is time for deeds' and who left little doubt as to the deeds they contemplated.

Besides the open agitation described there must have been work underground of which there have been signs in the circulation of seditious literature. Since, the *Hartal* there has been more secrecy ; secret meetings of leaders, secret propaganda, and, it is reported, secret organization. The Khilafat question is being kept in the forefront of the National week inaugurated by Gandhi, and a pronouncement of policy has been promised. Whether Gandhi's announcement of progressive boycott, and the Delhi meeting's endorsement of *Swadeshi*, is that pronouncement cannot now be said exactly. Apparently the fires are to be banked by some kind of definite anti-Government programme until an occasion arises which requires them to be fanned.

Note.—Will all Superintendents of Police please note ?

(b)*Upper Sind Frontier, May 20th.*—The District Magistrate writes : " The headmen of all the sections of the Khosa tribe resident in this district, with their Sardar, Khan Bahadur Hazai Khan, waited upon me two days ago, and expressed their regret that two zamindars of their tribe should have publicly announced their refusal to pay their land revenue, and their intention to bring pressure on these men to see reason before it is too late. The Sardar expressed the full determination of himself and his tribe to assist Government in the maintenance of law and order. I replied that I had every confidence in their sincerity and loyalty."

(c)*Nawabshah, June 1st.*—The District Magistrate writes : " It is interesting to note that Najmudin has practically sent word through a friend of his that he would abstain from agitation now if Government gave him some honour e.g., Honorary Magistrateship, but the man is of too despicable a character to be thus honoured. His importance lies in his influence over K. S. Muhammad Ali Shah. "

(d)*Thar and Parkar, June 3rd*—The Sub-Inspector, Phulahdiun. reports that the people in general of his police station area, and especially those who attended the recent meeting at Dhoro Naro, appear to be considerably affected by the doctrines preached at the meeting. He also reports that Makhan Fakir Lund, Mir Abdulla Khan, Haji Shadman Mari and Haji Shahdad Shar are carrying on the agitation in the villages and keeping the people up to the principles of non-co-operation.

The District Magistrate remarks : "The status of the Zamindars mentioned is under enquiry. The Makhdam of Multan Khan Bahadur Hasan Bakhsh Koreshi, saw me this morning. He told me he had warned his followers neither to attend Caliphate meetings nor to contribute to Caliphate funds "

(e) *Larkana, June 4th.*—The District Magistrate writes : " Jan Mahomed Junejo, who moved the resolution to sever all connection with the Govern ment at the fifth Caliphate Conference at Jacobabad, has since the meeting, paid up the greater part of the assessment and promised to pay the rest in spite of the oath he took in public and without alluding to it. I learn that he had also paid up his arrears to the Law Library. "

(f) *Sukkur, June 5th.*—Khilafat meeting was held on the 23rd May in Sukkur. The audience numbered about 200.

Abdul Satar Adam Memon, Sukkur, was chosen president. In effect he said that by the peace treaty with Turkey, the Holy Places of Islam had

been taken from the Turks, and a *Khalifa* without the Holy Places was not a *Khalifa*.

Dr, Mahomed Yamin, Local dentist, said they had met together to consider the Viceroy's message. The Prime Minister had broken his promise that Turkey should not be broken up. Moreover the Sheik-ul-Islam had been deported. However, he hoped that, in spite of their feelings in the matter, they would bear it with courage and silence. But God had commanded in the *Quran* that Arabia was for Muhammadans alone, and any other nation taking it should be driven out and destroyed, so now was the time for them to show they were true Mussalmans. They should obey the commands of God.

Taj Mahomed of the *Al Haq* said that all their meetings, petitions, etc. during the last 12 months had been of no avail. When His Excellency himself thought the conditions hard, it was not to be wondered at that they should want to show their feelings like this. They would do anything Government asked them except betray their religion. Therefore, they could not accept the Peace Terms. The Khalifa was no longer entitled to be called "*Khadm-ul-Harman*" (Protector of the Holy places). It had been suggested that the Sherif of Mecca should be Khalifa, but this was impossible. He then expounded the principal peace terms, and put the Resolution, shortly, that the peace terms with Turkey violated the Muhammadan religion. This resolution was passed *nem. con.*

Mulla Yar Mahomed said they had been wasting time approaching the Viceroy and George (?). George was not God. Everything was in God's hands, not George's. George should remember the time during the late war, when he was looking for a place to hide (?). He was responsible for all the trouble which had come to the Sultan. What right had other nations to decide about Turkey? It were better for George and His Excellency that they should not meddle in such matters. The English were blind fools. The railway strike was in the right direction. The members of Council took very good care that they were well paid.

The District Magistrate notes.—"Apparently means Mr. Lloyd George."

Amanulla, son of Edan, Mulla of Shikarpur, said English Justice did not exist. The English were always saying the Turks were cruel, but never advanced any proof for the statement. It was the English who were cruel, as witness the massacre at Jhallianwalla Bagh, by the orders of "*Nimak Haram*" General Dyer. He proposed *Hijrat*. "The English had first come to fetch the coal, and had now become the cooks in the kitchen". It was up to Muhammadans to sacrifice their lives, property, etc., in the cause. Ramchand, son of Virumal, Sukkur, said he thought the rule of the "*Napak*" (unclean) English would not last longer than five or ten years now. His speech consisted chiefly of abuse, the words "*Napak*" and "*Badmash*", applied to the English, being frequently used.

The usual appeal for funds was made.

(g) *Sukkur, May 19th.*—The District Magistrate writes: "The only Zamindar in this district who has hitherto announced his intention of resigning an honour has made to me a complete apology and recantation. Apparently he was put up to it by other persons at the Jacobabad meeting, and did it in the excitement of the moment, with no intention, as he says, of making good his words.

"This is a type of all such testifications: the only people who make a good their words are those who are actually intimidated. No movement was ever less voluntary.

"A meeting was held in Sukkur on the 23rd instant at which Ramchand, a son of Virumal Begraj, repeatedly spoke of the English as 'unholy' and as 'Badmashes'. I am considering the strength of the evidence, with a view to prosecution under section 153-A, Indian Penal Code."

(h) *Sind C.I.D., May 31st.*—It is reported that Mullan Mahomed Ismail Khoso of village Karimbux Khoso, district Jacobabad (Sind), and one Ali

Hussain Rind of Ratodero, district Larkana are secret agents of Maulvi Taj Mahomed of Amrota and Jan Mahomed Junejo of Larkana and that they are trying to induce the tribesmen of the Upper Sind Frontier District as far as the Baluchistan Border to do *hijrat*.

(i) *Sind C.I.D., June 2nd.*—An officer of this Department reports that Najmudin Insari of Naushahro Feroze has succeeded in dissuading Muham-madan students from the study of English in the village of Pat, Larkana District.

It is also reported that Moulvi Makhdum Muhammad Saleh, Khudadad Junejo and Molada Junejo of Pat are advising Government servants to resign their posts ; but Kazi Ahmed of Pat is against this movement. Hence Sheikh Abdul Aziz, Editor *Al-Wahid*, calls him *Kazi Ahmak* (Foolish Kazi). They also attempt to impress upon the minds of Hajis that as the Holy Places are in the hands of *Kaffirs*, the *hsj* is not acceptable to God.

Haji Fazalshah and Lal Baksh of village Bhang, district Larkana, spread the same doctrine.

It is also said that Pir Turabali Shah of Kambar is in favour of using violence if constitutional methods fail to annul the Peace Terms, and he and his party hail Bolshevik successes.

(i') *S. B., Sind, Karachi, June 7th.*—As regards the resignation of Ghulam Muhammad Bhurgri from the Bombay Legislative Council, Shaikh Abdul Majid writes in the *Al Amin* of the 31st May as follows :—

" The Muhammadans may have derived a certain amount of pleasure from the fact that Mr. Bhurgri resigned his seat on the Governor's Council, but they are equally displeased at this resignation of the Central Caliphate Committee. We hope, therefore, that Mr. Bhurgri, who has taken part in the Caliphate question both in India and England, will reconsider his action and withdraw his resignation. Although the *Al Amin* belongs to Mr. Bhurgri, it has continually expressed the true feelings of Muslims, and I should be lacking in my duty were I not to inform the public of the feelings about his resignation."

It is reported that the Caliphate agitators consider Bhurgri as a man with a crooked policy.

(K) *Karachi, June 7th.*—Moulvi Fazal Mahomed Sheikh of Naushahro Feroz, Nawabshah District, arrived in Tatta on the 29th Ultimo and put up with Muhammad Rajib, Shafiani. He delivered *vaaz* in two mosques and told the audience that the Holy Places are in danger and in the hands of foreigners. He admonished the assembly by referring to the *Koran* and advised them to form a Caliphate Committee at Tatta. Batchu, brother of Muhammad Rajib, had wired to Pir Raza Gulam Muhammad of Matiari to attend but he did not arrive. The people are depressed owing to the speech of the Moulvi.

A Caliphate Conference will be held at Jhimpir this month. Pirs, Moulvis and other big men will attend. The expenses will be borne by Malik Sobdar Khan. Moulvi Muhammad Hassan Hark Abdul Alim, Muhammad Rajib and Saiyid Muhammad Zaman of Tatta are keen on the Caliphate movement. The last has written some verses to arouse interest in the Caliphate agitation.

(l) *Ahmedabad, June 6th.*—A moulvi named Abdulla Jaffarmia Lath of Atarasumba, Baroda State, came here at the end of May. On the 3rd instant he addressed a gathering of about 200 Muhammadans near the Pankor Naka. He indulged in strong language and spoke in an excited manner, but requested them to be calm and peaceful. If Government did not hear them, they should prepare for hijrat. He said that a batch of 25,000 people had left India, another batch of 14,000 had also done so, while a third batch of 25,000 from Sind had not been allowed to leave the country.

(m) *Surat, May 24th.*—Wahidudin Rajudin arrived here on the 13th instant and Alaudin Shaik Abdul Samad arrived on the 16th. The former deals in medicines and did not seem to take part in politics. The latter deals in tooth-powder and also had in his possession about twelve copies of an Urdu book entitled "Farida Islam". He did not sell any copies of the book here so far as we know. The former left for Bulsar on the 23rd instant and the latter for Bombay on the 20th.

(n) *Nawabshah, June 1st.*—The Turkish Peace Terms have not been favourably received. The bulk of the rural Muhammadan population are not very much interested in the details of the terms, but the generality of the literate Muhammadan Zamindars, who form their opinions on the views expressed in the Vernacular press and on those of their Moulvis, are dissatisfied with the broad fact that the custody and control of the Sacred Places have passed out of the hands of the Sultan and all their hue and cry on behalf of Turkey have not been productive of any good results.

The District Magistrate remarks : " Unless something very unexpected happens, the Caliphate agitation in this district has, to my mind, passed through the acute stage. The Zamindars, at first carried away by violent oratory, have had time for reflection, and, with a few exceptions, have decided that nothing can be gained by violence. The Peace Terms have not roused any interest; indeed, the agitation never had any foundation on facts. The Zamindars have been disgusted by (1) some advice to haris to resist their Zamindars, (2) by vulgar and intemperate language used by some speakers, e.g., Parial Shah and Abdul Aziz, and (3) the obvious insincerity of most of the eloquent Moulvis, etc., who are not prepared themselves to suffer any loss or even discomfort for " the cause ". They realise that the Sultan of Turkey can gain nothing, while they themselves have everything to lose by non-co-operation. Consequently, I do not anticipate any recrudescence of agitation on a large scale in this district. Of course, in the cultivation season, meetings of cultivators could never be a success."

(o) *Karachi, June 5th.*—The Turkish Peace Terms and (he Government of India's statement have caused disappointment to those Moslems interested in the fate of Turkey, but there is no excitement apparent. The Caliphate leaders have gone to attend the Conference at Allahabad, and their return is anxiously awaited by Moslem and Hindu agitators.

(p) *Kathiawar Agency, June 1st.*—The Superintendent of Police reports : " All Chief Constables report that there are no discussions in their Stations over the Turkish Peace Terms or regarding the Viceroy's statement Muhammadans in Kathiawar are not sufficiently educated to become agitators."

(g) *Kaira, June 1st.*—Small groups of men have been noticed in Nanded studying the Turkish Peace Terms and the Viceroy's message; these are discussed, and the general opinion is not favourable to either, though the criticism is not violently expressed.

(r) *Nashik, June 7th.*—The Turkish Peace Terms have, as far as I can ascertain, caused no discussion—adverse or favourable. No interest seems to have been taken therein.

(s) *Bijapur, June 7th.*—Nothing noteworthy has occurred to mark the attitude of the people towards the Turkish Peace Terms.

(t) *Ratnagiri, June 7th.*—The attitude of the general public is against the terms of peace with Turkey and the statement of the Government of India, although no demonstrations have yet been made anywhere.

(u) *Kanara, June 7th.*—At Karwar and Haliyal the public is of opinion that Turkey has not been properly treated by the Peace Conference and no value is attached to the statement published by the Government of India.

In the rest of the district the people are indifferent.

(v) *Karachi, June 7th.*—The *Al Wahid* of the 5th instant publishes the message of the Amir to those Indians who wish to leave India and settle in Afghanistan. He promises them grants of land, etc.

(w) *Larkana, June 1st.*—The local Khilafat Committee have opened a " Muhajrin " office in Larkana Town.

(x) *Ahmedabad, June 3rd.*—Hijrat posters were pasted up in different parts of the city on the 27th May.

(y) *Panch Mahals, June 4th.*—Leaflets printed in Urdu were found pasted, up at different places in Godhra Town, in which Muhammadans were entreated strictly to observe the fast during the Ramzan, and whatever money they saved thereby should be given to the cause of the *Khalifa*.

Outwardly there appears to be practically no change in the attitude of the local Muhammadans in connection with the Turkish Peace Terms, neither is the question much discussed.

(z) *S. B., Sind Karachi, May 31st.*—An officer of the Sind C.I.D. reports that he was informed by Dr. Yamin that a Khilafat Committee has been formed at Kerbella. The Kerbella Committee asked the Bombay Committee to supply them with funds, which they did, and which funds have been seized by Government. This fact ought to be considered by the Shiahhs and they should hurry on with their agitation.

(l) *Bombay, June 7th.*—Chhotani has received from Zakupy Reichstaft, which appears to be in Czechoslovakia, notices, of which a specimen is attached, with a request that he will transmit them to prisoners of war in eight camps in Central Asia. It should be noted in this connection that Chhotani's Manager, Schmidt, was formerly an Austrian prisoner of war, interned at Belgaum. He was recently released on his establishing to the satisfaction of the Government of India his Czecho-Slovak nationality and is now negotiating a business connection with William Fuhrhop, a German prisoner of war, who sailed for Europe this morning (*vide* translation of

a letter attached). Another fact to be noted is that Chhotani has recently been making enquiries from the International Banking Corporation about the Zion-Osteinska Bank of Prague.

Reichasorganisation.

Heimbeforderung der Kriegagefangenen
in Reichstadt.

Reichstadt, a m 22nd April 1920.

Herrn

M. Chhotani

in

Bombay.

Wir bestätigen Ihnen dankend den Empfang Ihrer werten Zuschrift vom. 20./III 1920 und anerkennen Ihre Hilfsbereitschaft für unsere humanen Bestrebungen.

Mit gleicher Post senden wir Ihnen einige Pakete Kriegagefangenen Korrespondenz und eruchen höflichst, dieselbe nach Turkestan zu vermitteln. Wir haben den wesentlichen Inhalt Ihrer gesch. Zuschrift einigen interessierten hiesigen Geschäftshäusern vermittelt und dürfen sich dieselben binnen Kurze direkt mit Ihnen ins Einvernehmen setzen.

In der angenehmen Erwartung Ihrer sehr gesch. Rückausserung gezeichnet.

hochachtungsvoll

f. d.

Arbeitsausschuss Z. Heimbeforderung

der Kriegagefangenen.

mit d. Sitze in Reichstadt.

(Translation).

Messrs. Chhotani,

254, 260, Dond Street, Bombay.

Dear Sir,

Many thanks for your favour, dated the 20th March 1920, and for the readiness to help in our humanity endeavours.

By the same mail we beg to forward a packet of letters addressed to prisoners of war in the provinces of Turkestan and Bokhara and request you to send them on.

We have informed some firms here who may take interest in the contents of your letter and believe that they will get in touch with you very soon.

Looking forward to hear from you soon, we are

Yours sincerely,

Arbeitsausschuss z., etc.

Maulana Mahmud Hassan, the released deportee, with three other fellow internees, reached Bombay yesterday. He landed this morning and was taken by the Caliphate Volunteers in procession to the Central Caliphate

Office. The procession was an impromptu and unimportant affair in spite of handbills issued by Shaukat Ali calling on Muslims to take part in it.

Kidwai left for England on the 8th June by the *S. S. Cap. Polonio*, Fazlal Haq is expected to sail next week. Yakub Hassan of Madras and Gandhi are both in Bombay, and Abdul Bari arrives today. With Kidwai on the *Cap. Polonio* also goes the Honourable Mr. Muhammadbhoy Hajeerbhoy, who at the last moment withdrew his resignation from the Central Caliphate Committee. The reasons for this step are not stated in the letter announcing it.

Muhammad Ali has recently been communicating with Shaukat Ali through Amna, Moradabad.

Shaukat Ali has wired to Mrs. Besant as follows:—

" Kindly cable England and Europe for helping Muhammad Ali. Have cabled your order to Muhammad Ali. Success expected."

(II) *C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, June 9th.*—Extract from the *Kesari*, dated 8th June.—Hindu-Moslem Unity.—K. S. Thatte, Secretary of the Chiplun Branch, Home Rule League, and Patwardhan of the Satyagraha Ashram went to Dabhol and held a meeting of Hindus and Muham-madans. It was there resolved with the voice and heart on the part of the Muham-madans to stop cow slaughter by the community or individuals and on the part of the Hindus to stop to-toming near Musjids. A Panchayat consisting of prominent Hindu and Moslem leaders was also appointed to settle any disputes that may arise in the execution of the resolutions. These resolutions were forwarded to all the District officers.

(III) *C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, June 11th.*—The following is an extract from the *Bombay Chronicle* of the 9th June 1920: —

NON-CO-OPERATION

Moslems Should Decide First

Mr. TILAK'S VIEWS

Mr. B. G. Tilak, who arrived in Bombay from Benares after the All-India Congress Committee's meeting, was interviewed by a representative of the *Chronicle* yesterday. Our representative, broaching the subject of non-co-operation, asked:

What are your views Mr. Tilak, on the question of non-co-operation ?

Mr. Tilak.—We have deferred the matter for the consideration of the Special Congress. There are no differences of opinion about the policy of non-co-operation, but only as regards the practical methods.

O.—Have you read Mr. Jamnadas's letter in the *Chronicle* of today ? (Non-co-operation : A cry for Halt. In *Bombay Chronicle* of 8th June).

A.—I have read it partially and not thoroughly.

Q.—As you know, Mr. Jamnadas says that many of the leaders have preferred to keep silence on this matter, instead of speaking out their minds, one way or the other.

A.—It is for this reason we have called a special meeting of the Congress, and it will meet to discuss that question especially. One or two other questions might be taken up, but it is for this question that the special Congress meeting has been called.

Hunter Committee's Report

Q.—What is your opinion, Mr. Tilak, on the Hunter Committee's report ?

A.—So far as the Government of India is concerned, the matter is practically closed; there are those two despatches of the Secretary of State for India and the Viceroy. Now there will be a debate in the House of Commons, and we have to represent the Congress opinion in that debate. We have telegraphed to Mr. Patel to put the opinion of the Congress Committee before the House of Commons and the British public.

Q.—Is the Congress going to undertake on its own account any action against the culprits ?

A.—The Congress is not going itself to take any action against these men ; it is for the Government to do so.

Coming finally to the telegram to Mr. Patel, Mr. Tilak said the Committee have rejected the view of the (Congress) Sub-Committee that no action should be taken against the Punjab Culprits.

The Committee have authorised Mr. Patel and the British Congress to take all steps in the matter with a view to giving effect to their views in the matter.

Q.—May I know the reason for your not attending the Allahabad Khilafat Conference ? Was there any special reason.

A.—My idea is that the Muhammadans themselves should take the initiative in the matter. After full discussion they must come to a definite decision in the matter, and it is for the Hindus to support them in whatever decision they might arrive at. But it is for the Muhammadans to come to a final decision first. I have already sent a telegram to the Khilafat Conference from Benares to that effect—that I am prepared to support them in their decision.

(a) *C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, June 19th.*—Government have, with effect from the 9th June, suspended the pension of Abdul Ghafur, a retired Accountant, for grave misconduct
Khilafat Agitation.

(b) *Upper Sind Frontier, June 7th.*—A mad mulla was sent as an emissary by Moulvi Taj Muhammad of Amrot to Hyat Khan Rind who at the Jacobabad Conference announced his intention of resigning his honours, etc.—and that he came to the village of K. S. Syed Khan Rind and cursed the latter and his mulla. He called Syed Khan a Jew who was going against his own religion and carrying tales to Government. He then beat his breast and face and said that the Holy Places had been taken possession of and polluted by the British. The local Mulla assured him that he was leaving the village as soon as possible and got him out of the way before Syed Khan arrived.

The name of the mulla is reported to be Jam of Amrote.

Hyat Khan is on bad terms with his uncle Syed Khan, who has earned much abuse for his loyalty and prompt punishment of one of his haris who attended a Caliphate meeting.

It is a pity that K. S. Syed Khan was not present to deal with this impertinent Moulvi who bearded him in his own village having probably ascertained beforehand that he was absent.

Hyat Khan Rind has apparently definitely thrown in his lot with the agitators. He is said to have attended a Caliphate meeting at Hyderabad on the 23rd May, and to have asked that a Conference should be held in his own village in Kandkot taluka, which is most inaccessible.

The Bugti Nawab has strictly warned all the members of his *tuman* by a circular against attending any anti-British meeting and that disobedience will result in severe punishment.

The following villages are so very badly infected that they are still called Ghazi's villages:—

(1) Muhammad Amin Khoso	25 inhabitants.
(2) Nur Muhammad Khoso	25 inhabitants.
(3) Abdulla Khan Khoso	50 inhabitants.
(4) M. Sirajuddin Khoso	15 inhabitants.
(5) Fateh Mh. Khan Khoso	250 inhabitants.
(6) Taj Mh. Hejwani Bugti	25 inhabitants.

and contagion has spread all round. But the loyalty of K. S. Syed Khan Rind, the suitable action taken against Hyat Khan Rind and others, and the exercise of authority over his tribe by the Nawab of Bugti, have saved the situation, which is now well in hand.

The proposed Caliphate Conference at the village of Hyat Khan Rind was postponed to the end of the month on account of the Allahabad Conference. But my Sub-Inspector now reports that he learns from both K. S. Syed Khan and from Hyat Khan himself that the latter has seen the error of his ways. Hyat Khan said that no conference would be held at his village and he had informed Moulvi Taj Muhammad accordingly.

I am informed that K. S. Syed Khan and Hyat Khan are descendants of the Rinds who were turned out of the Rind country and were granted an asylum by the Bugti Nawab. They, therefore, belonged to the Bugti Nawab's Raj and as, moreover, they possess land in the Bugti country, the Nawab has authority over them. This authority he has been exercising, and it can reasonably be hoped that Hyat Khan will now retire into his former obscurity.

(c) *Upper Sind Frontier, June 7th.*—An individual, who said he was a Doctor, came from Sind or the Punjab to Dero Bugti and put up in the Otak of the Nawab Mehrab Khan. The Nawab, however, turned him out of his country and he is said to have gone to Kahan, the Marri capital.

He may be a Bolshevik emissary or a Caliphate agitator.

Nawab Mehrab Khan also informed me that he was unable to find out anything about the "Doctor" whom he turned out of his country. He thought he might be (1) a Poly Spy or (2) a Bolshevik or Caliphate emissary ; in any case he ordered his tribesmen not to listen to anything the man might say.

(d)*Belgaum, June 14th.*—The undercurrent of public opinion (Muham-madan) is unfavourable to the Turkish Peace Terms.

(e)*Larkana, June 8th.*—On the 6th June, at about 10 p.m., Jan Muhammad Junejo, announced by means of beat of drum in the village of Dhamrah, his native place, that he would receive at his house on the 7th morning those people who were desirous of emigrating from India. On the morning of the 7th June about 30 men, Dhamrahas and Junejos, assembled at his house. He told them that a married man would get 8 *jirebs* of agricultural land and a house and an unmarried man 6 *jirebs* and a house in Afghanistan. He further told the men that their property in Sind would remain intact. About 8 men expressed their desire to emigrate subject to the condition that Wadero Sahibkhan Junejo, an uncle of Jan Muhammad and the Collector's Darbari, would lead. Jan Muhammad went to Sahibkhan and had a discussion with him which became rather heated. Sahibkhan is still persisting in his refusal to emigrate. Jan Muhammad Junejo has invited Moulvi Taj Muhammad of Amrote to his village evidently with the object of reinforcing his own efforts, which are failing. The Moulvi is expected to deliver a sermon at Dhamrah on the 11th instant after Friday prayers.

(f) *Karachi June 9th.*—It is reported that the Caliphate agitators will begin a vigorous campaign by speeches in mosques on Friday next. It is rumoured that a Memon, probably Haji Abdula Haroon, is trying to induce some men to go on *hijrat* from Karachi and is offering money.

(g) *Karachi, June 9th.*—The District Magistrate writes : —" The Deputy Collector, Tatta, reports as below :—'On the 29th of May came here (Tatta) one Moulvi Fazul Mahomed Sheikh of Naushahro Feroze in the Nawabshah District. The Moulvi has given two sermons on two days, 30th and 31st May, in which he has drawn attention to the following points, quoting in his support verses from the *Koran* :—

(1)That the sacred places of Mussalmans which are now in the possession of the British Government should not be in the possession of non-Moslems, and for this purpose he advises the formation of a Khilafat Committee and union of all sections of the community.

(2)That our religion requires it to make a crusade, but we have not the power to do so, and the only other alternative is to make a common cause and to pray for the success of the Islam.

(3)That no *rasai* whatever be made of any Government servant since that is forbidden by Government.

(4)That the leaders, should advise the ignorant not to do any such deeds as might give occasion' to Government officials to oppress them. "

" I may mention that Mahomed Rajib Shaftani, memon of Tatta, is the person responsible for inviting the Pirs, Moulvis and others to Tatta in this connection. No Khilafat Committee has as yet been constitutionally formed. The fact is that Bachu, the brother of "Mahomed Rajib; has wired

to Pir Mian Agha Ghulam Majid, Barahdi of Matiari, in Hala taluka, to come to Tatta and no reply has yet been received from him: Moulvi Mahomed Hussain Hafiz Abdulalim and Sayad Mahomed Zaman Shah are associated with Moulvi Fazul Ahmed in this affair."

The Deputy Collector, Shahbunder, writes as follows :—

"Haji Abdullah Haroon who had been to Allahabad to attend the Khilafat Conference was returning to Karachi by Quetta mail the day before yesterday. I travelled with him from Jungshahi to Karachi in the same carriage and heard him say that the Khilafat Conference had passed a resolution of non-co-operation. The Conference was attended by all the Hindu and Muhammadan extremists, including Abdul Bari and Gandhi. He said now the Congress leaders will hold their meeting and will decide as the Khilafat Conference has done. Then the local Committees will start their work of carrying out the policy dictated to them from the Central Committee. They will begin slowly at first, marking Honorary Magistrates, title holders and others to resign, till their movement is well spread, when it will work more quickly and effectively.

"The meeting fixed at Mirpur Bathoro for 27th of the last and another after it at Bailo, as reported, have both failed. All is quiet everywhere throughout the Sub-division.

The proposed meetings at Choochar Jamali arranged by Dr. Akbar and Moulvi Fatahali Jatoi have been cancelled. The malevolent agitators will find formidable opposition from Rais Khair Muhammadkhan, Khalifo Haji Muhammad and other loyal zamindars, who thoroughly understand that the aim of agitation is no other than to foster unrest and anarchy. "

"I have just had a long and interesting interview with Moulvi Haji Fatahali Jatoi who was reported to be a chief Khilafat agitator in the Shahbunder taluka. and with whose help Akbar had fixed his money making meeting here. The reason which Moulvi Fatahali gave for his call was that he had heard that I was a good Mussalman and a just ' hakim' whom he thought necessary to see. Fatahali is undersized, fierce looking with thick, bristling, long dyed beard and glistening eyes. He wears a long flowing shirt of his Baluch race. Talking about decay of religion among people I casually impressed him that the change was largely due to the neglect of duty on the part of the Moulvis themselves. Their plate was inside the mosque. Instead of their legitimate, sound and solid work of teaching and preaching religion and keeping people happy and at peace they had taken to politics, of which they were ignorant, and whereby unintentionally they were doing damage to Muhammadans and their interests. I then let him alone for a while to ponder and to draw his own conclusions. He suddenly burst out reciting Arabic and Persian quotations and said he is now sure that the course adopted by the agitators is misleading and the money raised through them (the Moulvis) was really being diverted by the political agitators to unauthorised uses, and even embezzled. He assured me that he for one will never take any part in any meeting held by the agitators nor will he allow his two cousins, who are also Moulvis, to have anything to do with agitators."

"Among several others Haji Khamiso of Daro Mukhi Kundanmal of Sujawal and Moulvi Mahamood of Valhar (Sujawal) have called during my camp here.

Haji Khamiso informs me that Moulvi Muhammad Suleman of Bano, now residing at Jerruck, and Akbar are exerting their utmost to hold meetings, but the attention they attract is wholly out of proportion to their efforts.

Mukhi Kundanmal expressed his pain at the folly of his Panchayat who during his absence were misguided by the agitators and closed the shops on 19th March because they were told that by so doing the Muhammadans will give up cow-killing. He now assures me that such a thing will never happen again as the Hindus are so very happy under the British Raj and will never join any agitation again.

Moulvi Mahmood has wandered after my camp to Jati, Ladiun and Chuhar Jamali till atlast he has found me here. A month ago he had informed me at Mirzo Laghari that he had withdrawn his *Maktab* from the register of the Educational Department. We had a little informal discussion and I thought he was not convinced as he left me then without expressing any definite opinion on the subject. He now came to inform me that I was right and that he had since withdrawn his application, has had his *Maktab* inspected, and accepted the grant-in-aid. He says whenever he is in doubt or difficulty created by agitators he will run up to me for advice and never decide in a hurry again. He also informed me that Moulvi Suleman is trying to get himself elected as Kazi for the division in place of Moulvi Hamidullah, deceased. But he says Suleman's decision will be ordinary opinions of an ordinary man which will never command an extraordinary respect with them as Moulvi Hamidullah's did. "

(h) *Bombay, June 7th.*—A leaflet, of which a translation is reproduced below, has been printed by Abu Bakar, son of Haji Muhammad Siddik, a cutlery merchant of Grant Road and is in circulation in the city. It draws attention to the picture of the Prophet Muhammed in the New Harmsworth Self-Educator, and demands the proscription of the Magazine. The picture, it is added, will be exhibited after night prayers at the Pydhonie Mosque on the 6th and 7th instant. The publication of this picture was reported to Government.

(Translation)

A fresh attack on Islam

An imaginary photo of the Prophet

Oh ! Muhammadans, how long will you have a sleep of negligence ? Lo! the opponents of Islam have published an imaginary photo. , Of the Sacred Prophet on page 1505 of the "New Harmsworth Self-Educator", which is trodden beneath the feet in the bazaars along with the English waste paper and the old novels, and which is sold for pieces. Try to get the pleasure of God and his Prophet by taking recourse to legal proceedings for the confiscation of this magazine. Try, so that the disgrace brought to the Prophet of God by this imaginary photo be removed. This magazine will be open for public inspection in the Hamidia Mosque, situated at Pydhonie, on the 18th and 19th of Ramzan (i.e., the 6th and 7th June 1920) after the night prayer and *Tarawih*.

(i) *C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, June 19th.*—The following is a summary of the proceedings at Allahabad furnished by a Bombay City. C.I.D. Officer who was present : —

(1) The programme of proceedings was as follows : —

1st June.—8 a.m.—Meeting of C. K. Committee.

3 p.m.—Conference of Ulemas.

9-30 p.m.—Meeting of Hindu-Muhammadan Leaders.

2nd June.—8-30 a.m.—Meeting of Hindu-Muhammadan Leaders.

3 p.m.—Ulemas' Conference.

9 p.m.—C. K. O.

(2) The Public Meeting on 3rd was held to gratify local curiosity and was of no importance.

(3) The Conference of Ulemas was attended by Hakim A. Y. Ispahani of Bombay, four Moulvis of Sind and about 30 others from all parts of India. The agenda and proceedings were rambling and incoherent. One of the resolutions and some of the speeches were seditious, their keynote being "Drive out the British.". The proposal to nominate Abdul Bari as the *Khalifa's Wali* for India was dropped, when some one pointed out that only the Khalifa could make the appointment. *Hijrat* was discussed and pronounced optional, not obligatory.

(4) *The first meeting of the Central Khilafat Committee.*—Chhotani was in the chair. Excited speeches were delivered by the Extremists, and high feeling was displayed on receipt of the news that the Congress Committee had pronounced against non-co-operation. Abdul Bari excitedly held Gandhi to his pledge of support, and accused Hindus of playing with the Muhammadans. Zahur Ahmed, Secretary of the Muslim League, objected to more than the first stage. The Extremists wanted to introduce all stages simultaneously.

(5) *The first meeting of the Hindu-Moslem Leaders.*—Chhotani again in chair. Tilak absent. Although some of the Hindus went the whole hog, people like Mrs. Besant, Motilal Nehru and Malaviya made it clear that they were not convinced of the practicability of non-co-operation or of the need for the whole programme outlined, and that they wanted to consider the question much more fully. Shaukat Ali declared that they had already had enough time to make up their minds, and demanded an immediate decision. He lost his temper, but afterwards tried to explain away his recriminations. Other Mussalmans then urged adoption of restricted non-co-operation. Meeting finally adjourned in order that the Muslims might prepare for the following day a fuller statement of their case in regard to non-cooperation. A decision would then be taken.

(6) *The Second Joint Meeting.*—Representatives of Sind and Madras explained that their provinces were ripe for action, but Fazl-ul-Haq urged that Bengal, where sentiment was still backward, should be left out of the scheme for the present. Hasrat Mohani then made a speech, in the course of which *he promised to join any Afghan Army that might invade India to drive out the British.* The Hindu leaders promptly demanded explanations, whereupon Shaukat Ali, Azad, Sobhani and Zafar Ali Khan made it clear that they heartily agreed with him. This outburst provoked the Hindu leaders to some plainness of speech. Lajpatrai warned the Muslims that at the first sign of any such danger Hindus would not only cease to help, but would actively oppose them. Kidwai indulged in some sophistry in the hope of smoothing over the ruffled surface and Gandhi again assured the Muhammadans of his support so long as they refused to adopt violence or other "insane" methods. The discussion then turned to non-co-operation, on which the more moderate Mussalmans once more asserted themselves. The Conference finally broke up without reaching a decision; but leaving it to be understood that the matter must await the consideration of the Special Congress to be summoned to Calcutta in August.

(7) *The Second Meeting of the Central Khilafat Committee.*—Only 30 members of the C.K.C. attended, together with Gandhi. Malaviya, and a few

other Hindus. The seven resignations (already reported) from the Committee were considered ; eight resolutions were passed of which the most important are :—

(1) Reaffirmed the adoption of non-co-operation in all four stages ; and appointed a Sub-Committee of Extremists under Gandhi, with Headquarters at Bombay, to give practical effect to that policy;

(2) Decided to extend all over India the Khilafat Volunteer organization both to collect funds and to prepare the masses for non-co-operation ; and

(3) Established a Sub-Committee under Chhotani to give effect to the Swadeshi movement.

The other resolutions referred to the Nizam's *firman*, the Khilafat prosecutions, and the Turkish terms.

The features of the meeting were Gandhi's astounding assumption of dictatorship and the Muslim leaders' acquiescence therein. Gandhi explained that if the four stages of non-co-operation failed, and the Muhammadans still wished to go further, he would stand aside and watch in silence their progress. The members of his Sub-Committee are Shaukat Ali, Khatri, Hakim A. Y. Ispahani, Mahomed Ali Dharavi (all of Bombay) together with Ahmed Hasan of Gaya, Hasrat Mohani and Dr. Kitchlew. Chhotani's name was in his absence accepted at Shaukat Ali's suggestion, but Chhotani subsequently refused to accept the nomination.

(8) The Extremist Policy was outlined by Shaukat Ali, before the formal conferences began, in conversations with other Mussalman leaders. The main idea appears to be never to give the British any rest; to foster hatred of them in India and throughout the world ; to take full advantage of their preoccupations in Ireland, Mesopotamia, Afghanistan, and elsewhere ; and ultimately to overthrow their power all, of course, in the interests of Islam. The best ways of achieving these objects are thought to be :—

(a) In India, to win over the servants of Government an easy task, as they are already discontented with their lot; to foment in the labouring classes, through the instrumentality of their unions and otherwise, the spirit of discontent and " self-respect " which has already manifested itself, and

(b) Abroad, the *Muhajirin* : a lakh or two of whom could easily be spared from India, where they are useless. Abroad they would be a source of endless trouble and anxiety to the British Power. The real workers would be kept in India. There is to be no *Hijrat en masse*.

(j) *Sind C.I.D., June 8th*—Dr. Choithram P. Gidvani and Shaikh Abdul Majid have returned from Allahabad. As a result of this considerable talk is taking place in Hyderabad as regards non-co-operation and the adoption of it. It is said that the members of the All-India Congress Committee considered the question of the Hunter Committee Report, and as a result of this it is likely that the Hindus of Hyderabad will take up the non-co-operation movement to show their disapproval of this Report, but not necessarily in support of the Caliphate agitation. It is rumoured that a special conference will take place at Hyderabad in the middle of next month when it will be decided as to whether non-co-operation is to be adopted or not as a method of protest against the Hunter Report, the Turkish Peace Terms, and the internment of Bhaga and Ratta. There were signs that the non-co-operation movement would not receive considerable success, but it remains to be seen now what influence the Allahabad Conference will have upon this movement.

(k) *Thar Parkar, June 9th.*—The Sub-Inspector. Phulahdiun, reports that he had some conversation with Ali Akbar of Hyderabad and Waswani of the *New Times* when they were on their way back from the Allahabad Conference and gathered from them that, in their opinion, Gandhi was the main driving force behind the Caliphate agitation, and but for Gandhi's influence and efforts Shaukat Ali and Abdul Bari would have had to confess failure and abandon the agitation.

(1) *Bombay, June 14th.*—Khilafat Situation.—Development up to 5 p.m. Monday, the 14th instant :—

The Allahabad Conferences

(1)Jairamdas Daulatram of Hyderabad, Sind, has addressed to Shaukat Ali a letter which throws further light upon the proceedings at Allahabad. He accuses Shaukat Ali of having issued to the Press a one-sided version of them, of having omitted all mention of the discussion relating to Afghanistan and of ignoring not only Gandhi's claim to dictatorship and his proposal to transpose the third and fourth stages in the scheme of non-cooperation already accepted, but also his threat to abandon the movement if the Moslem response to the second stage were unsatisfactory. Jairamdas himself attended the Allahabad meeting. He has since taken steps to ensure that at least the readers of his own journal shall not be misled by Shaukat Ali's misrepresentations.

(2)Gandhi's journal *Young India* of the 9th instant publishes an article (Appendix A) upon these conferences containing the only reference that has yet appeared in the Bombay papers to the discussion about the feared Afghna invasion of India. Notwithstanding the cautious language he used Gandhi makes it clear that the discussion upon the Afghan invasion was accurately reflected in my report last week.

(3)It appears from letters addressed to Shaukat Ali by Khilafat leaders in Oudh that Chhotani's conduct of the chair gave serious offence to those who are dissatisfied with the rate of progress permitted by Bombay. The writer was especially annoyed at Chhotani's refusal to allow his opponents to speak.

Gandhi's New Sub-Committee

(1) The members of Gandhi's New Sub-Committee, with the exception of Abul Kalam Azad, who is said to be ill, have assembled at Bombay and are said to have authorised Gandhi to draft two letters to the Viceroy on the subject of non-co-operation. The first, signed by Muhammadans along, is said to give notice that non-co-operation is to begin, and to call upon the Viceroy to join the movement. The second will be a personal letter from Gandhi. The letter has not yet been drafted, but signatures are being collected on the former, the terms of which are still uncertain. *The Chronicle* advises the new Committee to take no action pending the decision of the Special Congress to be held a month or two hence.

Propaganda

(1) Kidwai is still in Bombay. He has cabled as follows to Mahomed Ali : —

"What use fresh deputation your expenses too high England hopeless register outlook must I come."

(2) Two thousand copies in English and Urdu of a Pledge to abandon, on a date to be fixed by the Central Khilafat Committee, later on, all titled and other honorary distinctions have been despatched up-country for signature.

(3) Abdul Bari and Kidwai have wired to Sir Ali Imam a protest against the Nizam's *firman* about the Khilafat agitation in his dominions, ascribing it to Sir Ali Imam's own religious beliefs.

The Central Committee has placarded Bombay with notices to the effect that a special collection of subscriptions for the Khilafat Fund will commence in real earnest on the last Friday in Ramzan and last a fortnight.

Malek Mahomed, the M. T. Lance Naik of Baghdad, has once more written to the Central Committee. His letter is dated from Dehra Dun and was despatched through Abdul Rashid, Assistant Secretary to the Dehra Dun Khilafat Committee, to whom he requests that the reply may be directed. A copy of the letter and of Abdul Rashid's covering communication is attached marked B and C. The terms in which the former is couched make it clear that Malek Mahomed was the centre of a dangerous propaganda among the troops at Baghdad; that his sudden translation to India, which appears to have been the result of a warning from Bombay just averted a seditious meeting of disaffected soldiers; and that he derived his inspiration* from Shaukat Ali, a letter from whom was seized among his papers.

Hakim Mahomed Khalil Uddin, Secretary of the Bareilly Khilafat Committee, ends as follows a letter to the Central Committee :—

"I have met many military men. Everyone with whom I talked seemed to be impressed. There is no reason to believe that they do not feel for the community and for the country, but people in the army are entirely ignorant."

Miscellaneous

(1)*Bhurgri's resignation*.—Chotani has wired Bhurgri assuring him that his resignation is due to a misunderstanding and inviting him to Bombay to clear it up. Bhurgri has accepted the invitation.

(2)Chotani has evidently connections with Prague other than those reported last week. A copy of his latest communication from that city is attached marked D.

(3)During the week Maulana Mahmud Hassan, together with three fellow deportees, arrived from Europe, where he has long been interned. All four have since left for Deoband. Shaukat Ali and other members of the Central Committee tried to organise various functions in the Maulana's honour but without any particular success. Just before his departure however, he was presented with an address urging him to lead the Khilafat agitation and conferring upon him the title of *Shaik-ul-Hind*.

As a means of bringing financial pressure to bear upon the Government of India Abdul Bari is said to have suggested the stoppage of *poppy* cultivation.

Shaukat Ali has gone to Raipur in the Central Provinces to preside over a Khilafat Conference there.

A Police constable from Allahabad has written to the Central Committee offering his services, and stating his intention of resigning his present employment.

Accompaniment A

C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, June 18th.—The following is an extract from *Young India*, dated the 9th June 1920 :—

The Muhammadan Decision

The Khilafat meeting at Allahabad has unanimously reaffirmed the principle of non-co-operation and appointed an executive committee to lay down and enforce a detailed programme. This meeting was preceded by a joint Hindu-Muhammadan meeting at which Hindu leaders were invited to give their views. Mrs. Besant, the Honourable Pandit Malaviyaji, the Honourable Dr. Sapru, Motilal Nehru, Chintamani and others were present at the meeting. It was a wise step on the part of the Khilafat Committee to invite Hindus representing all shades of thought to give them the benefit of their advice. Mrs. Besant and Dr. Sapru strongly dissuaded the Muhammadans present from the policy of non-co-operation. The other Hindu speakers made non-committal speeches. Whilst the other Hindu speakers approved of the principle of non-co-operation in theory, they saw many practical difficulties and they feared also complications arising from Muhammadans welcoming an Afghan invasion of India. The Muhammadan speakers gave the fullest and frankest assurances that they would fight to a man any invader who wanted to conquer India, but they were equally frank in asserting that any invasion from without undertaken to uphold the prestige of Islam and to vindicate justice would have their full sympathy, if not their actual support. It is easy enough to understand and justify the Hindu caution. It is difficult to resist the Muhammadan position. In my opinion the best way to prevent India from becoming the battleground between the force of Islam and those of the English is for Hindus to make non-co-operation a complete and immediate success ; and I have little doubt that if the Muhammadans remain true to their declared intention, and are able to exercise self-restraint and make sacrifices, the Hindus will "play the game " and join them in the campaign of non-co-operation. I feel equally certain that the Hindus will not assist the Muhammadans in promoting an armed conflict between the British Government and their allies and Afghanistan. British forces are too well organised to admit of any successful invasion of the Indian Frontier. The only way, therefore, the Muhammadans can carry on an effective struggle on behalf of the honour of Islam is to take up non-co-operation in real earnest. It will not only be completely effective if it is adopted by the people on an extensive scale, but it will also provide full scope for individual conscience. If I cannot bear an injustice done by an individual or corporation, and if I am directly or indirectly instrumental in upholding that individual or corporation. I must answer for it before my Maker, but I have done all it is humanly possible for me to do consistently with the moral code that refuses to injure even the wrongdoer, if I cease to support the injustice in the manner described above. In applying therefore such a great force there should be no haste, there should be no temper shown. Non-co-operation must be and remain absolutely a voluntary effort. The whole thing, then, depends upon Muhammadan themselves. If they will but help themselves Hindu help will come and the Government, great and mighty though it is, will have to bend before this irresistible force. No Government can possibly withstand the bloodless opposition of a whole nation.

Accompaniment 'B'

Translation of an Urdu letter from Abdul Rashid, Assistant Secretary. Khilafat Committee, Dehra Dun, dated 5th June 1920, to the Secretary, Central Khilafat Committee.

Greetings : It is only today that I happened to meet Malak Abdul Qadir whose letter is enclosed. I learned from his statement that he arrived here yesterday. As he has been brought here under the orders of the British Government and he fears that under the military regulations he will be awarded some punishment, which will at least be dismissal from service, he desires that if he is only dismissed, it would be better if he were sent again to Mesopotamia in order to preach and propagate the *Shariat* laws about the Khilafat among British (India) troops there because he desires to finish himself the work which he began there while in Government service. His letter is enclosed for such action as you think proper. Kindly reply soon whether the Central Khilafat Committee can make any arrangements for him and, if so, by what time. Further greetings.

Accompaniment 'C'

Translation of Malak Mohomed Abdul Qadir's letter enclosed with the above.

To the President, Central Khilafat Committee, Bombay.

Greeting and blessings : After completing the efforts to brine about Hindu-Muslim union I came to know through the *Khalsa* Akbhar Maulana Abdul Bari's *Fatwa* of infidelity (*Kufr*) passed military employees. Then I issued a notice to all the employees in the Army and M.T. at Baghdad to assemble on 23rd May at a particular place and discuss what step we should take in order to escape this *Fatwa* of *Kufr*. It was also said in the notice that the well-wishers of the Government and *ji huzurs* (sycophants) should not polute this sacred meeting by their presence. In other words, only those people who were against the Government and in favour of Turks could join this meeting. On 19th May at 6 p.m. the General called me ordering that I should attend in whatever condition I was. Accordingly a Lieutenant took me to him. The General said that on the recommendation of some big men I was being sent away for ever. He asked if I had written to anybody. I said "No". I had not written to anyone, nor do I desire to go. He said it was my good fortune and I should go. When he compelled me I said that I would go after 23rd May. He replied that there were urgent orders for me to go at once when I had returned they had packed all my things and kept them ready. At last, when I had reached the railway station, one Havaladar, two men and one European Corporal were with me. They purchased and gave me the ticket and remained as sentries on my carriage up to the departure of the train. On the way my copy book in which there were about 250 poems, a note book of subscriptions in which was also placed a letter from Maulana Shaukat Ali (for the loss of which I am extremely sorry), and in fact all what I had collected in Mesopotamia was taken away. All this haste was probably for this search. I am extremely sorry (for the loss of) Mr. Shaukat Ali's letter. May God Almighty ruin these scoundrels. Probably they will take some proceedings against me about these papers of which I do not care. Death

is (really) life and jail is a school which is essential for becoming Mussal-mans. If I am discharged then after the above mentioned two objects I wish to dedicate my life for three things: Firstly, that after my discharge that I may go to Mesopotamia to finish the work at Baghdad which has not yet been fully done, because there is no one there after me who will finish the Khilafat work. The idea of this work remaining unfinished is extremely distressing to me and makes me shed tears. After this the second object is *hijrat*. Thirdly, that at home or wherever I may be ordered I may go to stop recruitment for the Army and acquaint the people with my past history. (I will perform) any of the three things about which I am ordered. If I escape jail or death I have dedicated my life for the services of Khilafat. Kindly, inform me through the Secretary, Khilafat Committee, Dehra Dun, as to which resources I should take up in future. Also inform me whether the second hundred, i.e., the second instalment of one hundred rupees, has reached you or not. From Mesopotamia I had sent by registered post a *Faryad* (complaint). Has that also reached or not, and if it had reached whether it has been sent to the papers or it has been considered unfit for that. This letter is being sent through the Dehra Dun Khilafat Committee because it is hard to expect that your letter will reach me at my departmental address. Kindly write my name inside and on the outside that of Secretary, Khilafat Committee, Dehra Dun.—2nd June 1920.

Yours obediently,

(Signed) Malak Mahd. Abdul Kadir,

Lance Naik, M. T.,

Mahajad in the cause of Khilafat,

Baghdad.

Now M. T. Training School, Dehra Dun,

C/o Secretary, Khilafat Committee, Dehra Dun,

Do not fail to reply, and do so very soon.

Accompaniment 'D'

Cechoslovakische.

Cesellschaft fur Aussenhandel G.m.b.H.,

Grander ;

Bohmische Bank, Bodenbank, Budweiser Bank,

Landwirtschaftl. Kredithank,

Konggratzer Kredit-ul, Vorschuss-Anstalt,

Prag, den May 14th, 1920.

Representacnidum.

Mr. M. M. H. J. Chhotani,

Bombay,

254-260, Dond Street,

Post Box No. 545.

No. R/412

Dear Sir,

We beg to acknowledge receipt of your favour, dated April 15th as well as your cable confirmed therein.

We had the pleasure of discussing the question of a mutual business connection with your representative, Mr. Oswald Fuchs. However, we could not arrive to a concrete business. We hope to do so soon and in the meantime we remain, dear sir.

Yours faithfully,

CZECHOSLOVAK COMPANY,

for Foreign Trade, Ltd.,

Karasu.

(m) *S. B. Bihar and Orissa.—From Abstract, dated" June 5th.*—Mr. Gandhi's non-co-operation proposal is being severely criticised, and it seems to be the general opinion of both Hindus and Muhammadans that this Method of opposition is likely to do more harm than good to Indian Muhammadans.

Maulana Shaukat Ali has also written to several leading Muhammadans that the non-co-operation movement will be fully explained and advertised in the weekly English paper *Young India* and that the public should be encouraged to subscribe to it. Enquiries show no great increase in the sale of this paper in the city yet.

(n) *C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, June 16th.*—The following is an extract from the Delhi Press Abstract, dated the 5th June 1920.—M. Gandhi has advised the public to conduct a silent and calm agitation, but it seems probable that ultimately this will develop in a violent disturbance leading to shootings and the loss of life. Participation in the agitation there should be, because even in defeat there is moral victory, but calm must be maintained. Patriotism is still a feeble and frail growth needing to be strengthened by tribulation. Further bloodshed will further increase the patriotism of Indians.—(*The Hindi Samachar.*).

(o) *C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, June 18th.*—*The Lokasangraha* of the 12th June comments as follows on the attacks recently made of non-co-operation :—

The Moderates are attacking Gandhi and the Muhammadan leaders for passing the non-co-operation resolution at the Allahabad Khilafat Conference.

Some people are laughing at the decision to give one month notice to the Viceroy.

It has been finally decided that the first stage, viz., renunciation of titles, should be introduced.

On the other hand, certain Muhammadans of Hyderabad, Sind, have declared that the Khilafat movement is not supported by their religion as there has been no Khilafat for many years. They also say it is contrary to their religion to deal with such questions in the company of Hindus.

Some wise men are asking why steps should be taken against the Indian Government when the British Government is to blame, but they should remember the old saying that to force open the mouth it is necessary to squeeze the nose and realise that pressure is being indirectly brought to bear on the British Government through the Indian one.

It concludes by saying that those who sympathise should help and those who don't should at least refrain from mocking those who do and prophesying evil results.

(P) *S. B., United Provinces.*—From Abstract, dated, May 22nd, para. 1201.—*C.I.D., United Provinces May 15th.*—Information has been received from the District Magistrate, Aligarh, through the Commissioner, Agra Division, to the effect that Hasrat Mohani has received a wire from Shaukat Ali from Bombay informing him that full non-co-operation has been unanimously determined; friends to be informed.

(q) *C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, June 17th.*—In the *Lokasangraha* of the 14th June Krishnaji Govind Tamhankar of Nagpur writes under date 10th June on the possibilities of non-co-operation. He decides that the only part of the proposals that is feasible is the fourth or non-payment of taxes and Government dues. He then enlarges on the subject saying that pleaders should give up their professions, that cases should not be taken to courts, but settled by village arbitration committees, thus decreasing the revenue from stamps, that the general use of Swadeshi goods should be encouraged, and that liquor drinking should be given up. The New Councils must be boycotted and a welcome refused to the Prince of Wales. Hindus and Muhammadans must combine throughout. He concludes by saying that all must be staunch and be prepared to undergo any hardship, as Government are bound to resist the movement and may even attempt to regard it as Bolshevism which must be stamped out. The leaders in particular must be tenacious of their principles as without their example the masses will not take to the movement.

(r) *G.I.P., M. and S. M. Railways, June 15th.*—Shaukat Ali, the ring leader of Muhammadans on the Caliphate movement, passed through Bhusawal by the (1 Down) Nagpur, Mail on the 11th June. He had wired here previously and so about 200 persons from the town assembled at the station. The leading Muhammadans of the town gave him *khana* and offered flower. A Muhammadan Jahagirdar of a village near Jama in His Exalted Highness the Nizam's State paid Shaukat Ali Rs. 1,800 as his contribution to the Caliphate movement. Shaukat Ali advised all assembled there to collect funds for the Caliphate and appoint committees. Some of the Muhammadan Railway servants, it is said, asked Shaukat Ali whether they would lose their employment if they contributed to the Caliphate Fund. He assured them that he would arrange to take steps if anything happened to them.

Note.—Advance copy sent to the First Assistant Resident, Hyderabad, Deccan. (C.I.D., Bombay Presidency.).

(s) *Karachi, June 12.*—Extract from the *Al-Wahid* of the 12th June 1920 :—

Islam required every Muhammadan to believe that God will not accept supplications both mental and physical until he surrender his peace and comfort to preserve the honour of the Caliph and the Caliphate. Is there any one who would consider his comforts rather than God ?

(t) *S. B., Central Provinces.*—From Abstract, dated May 29th, para. 458:—The only further developments are firstly a report by the City Inspector, Nagpur, that Dr. Munje has definitely given out that Shaukat Ali

is to visit Raipur on June the 8th, and secondly that Munje, G. S. Khaparde, B. G. Tilak and possibly other leading Hindus are shortly to have a Conference with Gandhi. The exact date and place are not yet certain.

(u) *S. B., United Provinces*.—From Abstract, dated June 5th, para. 1320-C.I.D., United Provinces, June 2nd.—The following is a letter recently written by Mr. Gandhi to Shah Hafiz Alam of Allahabad :—

Dear Shah Sahib —

I have your letter of the 14th instant. I received it only today on my return from Bombay, where I had gone for the Khilafat business.

I wish our friends will understand that the whole struggle consists in suffering imprisonment and all the other hardships that the Government may seek to impose upon us. We must not expect to carry on a stubborn non-co-operation campaign and yet expect not to be arrested, bound over, imprisoned, deported. The whole struggle consists in our ability to undergo all these things without a single muscle being moved. I, for one, therefore, will not only quarrel with the vigour of Government but will prepare the community for much greater. I hope to be in Benares on 30th instant where I will be pleased to meet Allahabad friends. What we now need is not big meetings but a proper grasp of the situation on the part of these who have to lead the movement.

(v) *S. B., North-West Frontier Province*.—From Abstract, dated June 5th, para. 465.—C.I.D., N.W.F.P., May 31st.—Following Rules and Regulations have been framed by the Amir of Kabul to be observed by the *Muhajirin* from the British territory intending to settle in Afghanistan :—

(1) Any individual who thinks of migrating into Afghanistan shall obtain a passport either at Peshawar or Dhakka. He who places his foot on the soil of Afghanistan shall be treated as an Afghan subject enjoying full rights as such. He shall consequently be bound to abide by the Muhammadan Law and the internal laws of the realm.

(2) Any person entering the soil of Afghanistan and swearing allegiance to the Government of Afghanistan shall be given plots of cultivable lands as detailed below :—

An unmarried man 6 *jaribs* of land.

A married man 8 *jaribs* of land.

An unmarried girl or any minor shall get no plot of land.

(3) Till before the crops of the lands allotted to them (*Muhajirin*) are ready to be reaped, these persons shall get the following ration:—

An adult	.. 5 seers (Kabul weight) of wheat flour per month.
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A minor (from 6 years of age to	3 seers (Kabul weight) of wheat the period of puberty). flour per month.
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(4) Those persons to whom the plots of lands have been allotted shall be advanced, in the first year, by way of *takavi*, 6 Seers of wheat and Rs. 5 per *jarib* to enable them to buy ploughs, etc. The cash *takavi* shall be refunded after three years in three yearly instalments.

(5) The Indian Muhajir shall be exempted from payment of land revenue for a period of three years. This shall, however, be realised in the fourth year in accordance with the State rules.

(6) No political work shall be undertaken without consulting the Afghan Government.

(7) Persons who are educated, or those who know Art and Science, and the Government considers it necessary to engage their services, shall be taken in service if desired by them, and shall get pay according to their qualifications. The rest of the men shall be at liberty to take up service or follow any trade or profession.

(8) The Indian *Muhajirin*, when first entering the soil of Afghanistan, shall stay for a period of one to two months at *Jabal-us-Siraj*, when sites would be selected by the Government, where plots of lands shall be allotted to them and quarters built for them in the event of there being no free quarters.

(Signed) ABDUL RAHMAN,
Sadr-i-Kharijiyya.

The above *Nizamnama* has been approved of by the mighty Ghazi Amir.

(w) *Sind, C.I.D., June 14.*—Extract from the *Al-Wahid* of 14th June —

(1) Emigrants should proceed to Peshawar Cantonment Station, whence they will be escorted by Volunteers with' crescent flags to the "Makan *Nimak Mandi*", Peshawar City, where they will be properly looked after.

(2) During the hot weather, caravans will leave Peshawar at 5 p.m. on Fridays.

(3) The British boundary, Landhi Kotal, is 29 miles away from Peshawar.

(4) A tonga accommodating four persons costs Rs. 16 from Peshawar to Landhi Kotal, so that each person will have to pay Rs. 4 as *gharry* hire.

(5) Very little kit can be carried in the *gharry*, for luggage, camels, horses, mules and donkeys can be hired.

(6) From Landhi Kotal one will have to go on foot to Duki, a distance of 9 miles, in the Amir's territory. The road is very smooth and straight. *Pardha-nashin* ladies and weak and delicate men can go to this place direct from Peshawar in carriage by passing extra fare.

(7) From Duki to Jallalabad arrangements will be made for the journey by " *Khuddan Jumma Dallah Rubania*". Jallalabad is 40 miles from Duki and Kabul 90 miles from Jallalabad.

(8) For passports, each person will have to pay one Kabuli rupee and a family five Kabuli rupees (a family may consist of any number of people). In Peshawar one Kabuli rupee is equal to fourteen annas.

(9) A passport can be had in Peshawar through Haji Jan Muhammad, Secretary of " *Istakabalia Hajra Committee* ".

(10) Proper arrangements are made in Peshwar for the residence and onward journey of *Pardha-nashin* ladies.

(11) If any person wishes arrangements to be made for him, he should give intimation to that three days previously and send the expense also.

(12) Each emigrant should have with himself at least Rs. 35 on arrival at Peshawar. If he has more he can make himself comfortable.

(13) Emigrants should arrive at Peshawar on Wednesday or by Calcutta Mail on Thursday in order to leave on Friday. Failing this they will have to wait until the following Friday.

(14) Emigrants should provide themselves with warm clothes and bedding.

(15) Any person wishing to subscribe to help this cause should send money to Haji Jan Muhammad, Treasurer and Secretary, "*Istakabalia and Intazamia Committee*."

(x) *S. B., Bengal*—From Abstract, dated June 5th, Pars. 969.—24-Par-ganas, May 22nd.—There is a rumour among the millhands that about 30,00,00 females have become widows in the Punjab owing to their husbands being killed in the war and that their maintenance has become a burden on Government, which is therefore, ready to help youths who are willing to go to Peshawar by giving them in marriage with the widows and enabling them to settle there. This may be a trick of the Calcutta Khilafat Committee to induce youths to go to Peshawar, from where they could be easily sent to Kabul, according to the manifesto issued by the "*Mahajreen*" office, Delhi, as published in the *Statesman* of the 25th instant

Indian Press

S. B., United Provinces.—From Abstract, dated May, 29th, 490 (Extract United Provinces Police Abstract No. 20, dated the 29th May 1920, paragraph 1259).—*Khilafat address prescribed.* C.I.D., United Provinces, May 26th.—The Local Government has declared to be forfeited all copies or portions thereof of the address in Urdu, or of its translation, delivered by Mushir Hussain Kidwai at the Oudh Khilafat Conference held at Fyzabad on May 1st, 1920.